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COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

RDTA

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XIII. — OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1922 — No. 4

THE OLD FRENCH *LAI DE NABARET*

IN a manuscript in Sir Thomas Phillips' library there is an old French *lai* which might be an item clipped from a current issue of *Town Topics*. It seems to have been composed to twit a thirteenth century nobleman, to whom it gives the name Nabaret.¹ This gentleman has, it appears, more than once got into a passion with his wife on account of her dressmakers' bills. He has even so clearly manifested his disapproval of her fine clothes as to beat her. So he knows that it is not for him that she persists in these vanities. Finally in desperation he asks her family to remonstrate with her.

Oiez cum ele respondi:
'Seignurs,' fet ele, 'si vus plest,
Si lui peise que jo m'envest
E ke jo m'atur noblement,
Jo ne sai autre vengeance:
Ço li dites ke jo li mand
K'il face crestre la barbe grant,
Et sez gernuns face trescher.
Issi se deit gelus venger.'

Asez s'en ristrent e gaberent,
En plusurs liuz le recunterent
Pur le deduit de la parole.
Cil ki de lais tindrent l'escole
De Nabaret un lai noterent
E de sun nun le lai nomerent.

Gröber² translates the lines which contain the point of the lady's

¹ Edited by F. Michel, *Charlemagne*, London, 1836, s. v. *gernuns*, p. 90.

² G. Gröber, *Grundriss der rom. Philol.*, II, 602.

remark, *dass er den Bart weder wachsen lassen noch pflegen solle*. How he arrived at this translation it is difficult to understand, and how he interpreted it, no less so. Already in the thirteenth century the passage must have been obscure, for the Norse translator makes of it, *at hann late lengi vaxa skegg ocampa. sian skere hann af hvarttveggia*. "that he let his beard and moustache grow long, then cut them off,"³ a rendering no less obscure.

That Gaston Paris is correct in translating *trescher* by modern French *tresser*, to braid,⁴ is hardly to be doubted, for there are various examples of *germuns treciez* to be found in Old French romances. In *Dolopathos*,⁵ for example, there is a personage who has

. . . . la barbe blanche et bele
. I . espan desouz la mamele
Et fu treciez a une tresce.

In *Gui de Bourgogne*,⁶

Sa barbe li baloie jusc'au neu du braier,
Par desour les oreilles ot les guernons trecies
Derier el haterel gentement atachies.

and again, in the same poem,⁷

Sa barbe li baloie jusc'au neu du brayer.
Par desus les oreilles ot les grenons treciez,
Et le baston d'or fin el haterel lacie.

In the poem *De Saint Pierre et du Jogleor*:⁸

Moult estoit bien appareilliez,
Barbe ot noire, grenons trechiez.

³ R. Keyser & C. R. Unger, *Strengleikar*, p. 82. The Norse translator seems to have mistaken *trescher* for *trenchier*. This explanation is also suggested by Ahlström, *Studier i den Fornfranska Lais-litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, p. 152. The Norse translation was made at the command of King Hákon (1217-63). Paul, *Grundriss der ger. Philol.*, ², I, p. 870. The Norse manuscript was written about 1250. H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, pp. 199, 205, 218.

⁴ *Histoire littéraire* XXIII, p. 68.

⁵ *Li romans de Dolopathos*, ed. Brunet et Montaiglon, Paris 1856, p. 165.

⁶ *Gui de Bourgogne*, ed. Guessard et Michelant, Paris, 1859, p. 35, ll. 1119-

22.

⁷ *loc. cit.*, p. 56, 1839-42.

⁸ Barbazan, *Fabliaux et contes des poètes françois des XI, XII, XIII, XIV et XV^{me} siècles*, Paris, 1808, III, 286, ll. 131-3.

Perhaps the most valuable passage for our purpose is found in *Bueve de Hantone*, Version III, published by A. Stimming, in 1914, at Dresden (Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur). The editor dates the poem as of the first half of the twelfth century.

Oudars se dresce o le flouri grenon.
 La barbe ot blanche com noiz ou auqueton.
 De soie en furent trecio li doi forchon,
 Qui au baudré batoient le baron,
 Et la grant tresse li bat jusqu' au talon,
 Tresié a soie d'or en sont li bouton.
 A grant merveille resamble bien preudon.
 (14594-14600).

On some of the sculptured figures on mediaeval churches and town halls there are beards and moustaches that look as if they were braided.⁹ In the choir of Wimborne minster there is a sculptured head of Moses, showing clearly the interlaced strands of the beard.

Gröber and Gaston Paris do not seem to have inquired what was the point of the lady's answer.¹⁰ And yet if the lay is to mean anything to us we must know. It was something very witty, for her one sentence was final. Enough to send the family away convulsed, enough to be thought worth repeating, and sure to raise a gale of laughter wherever heard. Moreover the existence of the lay itself bears witness that one poet at least thought the lady's retort worthy of immortalizing, for, like the lay of *Chievrefoil*, the lay of *Nabaret* was made

Pur les paroles remembrer.

If we examine the passages in 12th and 13th century texts in which tressed beards and moustaches figure, we find that they are invariably worn by patriarchs or by persons of great weight and dignity. The beard in *Dolopathos*, for example, is white; the tressed moustache in *Gui de Bourgogne* is worn by the aged Charlemagne and his paladin Naymes de Baviere. It is Saint Peter, not the jongleur, who has the braided moustache. It is impossible to

⁹ A. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1889, I, 288.

¹⁰ M. A. Geffroy, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, 1855, p. 13, suggests "Qu'il se fasse plus coquet et plus élégant que moi . . . qu'il me rende jalouse, s'il peut, comme il l'est lui-même."

identify all the sculptured figures, but they are hardly likely to be those of gallants in their prime. The many examples from Middle High German literature cited by A. Schultz in his *Höfisches Leben* are all associated with old men.¹¹

In sermons of Geiler von Kaisersberg on Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* various fanciful ways of wearing the hair and beard are enumerated and condemned for their folly. The braided beard is given special attention:

Werden gefunden die ziehen gantz lange und zopffechte (sic) Bärt, welches sie allein darum thun, damit man sie desto ehe für alte männer und stattliche personen ansehen solle. Dise sticht in sonderheit die ehrgeitzigkeit und ruhmsucht, aber solche sein fürwar grosse thoren, und hangt an einem jeden härlein des Barts ein schellen.¹²

On the other hand we find various indications that in the thirteenth century and even in the twelfth, men who aimed at being fashionable shaved their beards. In Chrétien's *Perceval* the young men

... reent et rooignent
Lor barbes cascade semaine.¹³

In the Provençal novel *Flamenca*, one of the signs that the husband, almost mad with jealousy, has lost all care for his appearance is that he lets his beard grow until it looks like an ill-made haystack. When he imagines that his wife is displeased at his appearance, he retorts that he would rather be a laughing stock as a *jalou* than as a complaisant cuckold.¹⁴ It is noticeable that when the lover appears he has a chin that is plainly visible,¹⁵ and he needs to make no sacrifice of beard or moustache when he becomes a *clerc*.

French fashion in the romances seems to reflect fashion in real life, for about the middle of the twelfth century Louis VII yielded

¹¹ Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 289. See also discussion in W. Hertz's modernization of *Parsival*, p. 531, and in *Ordene de Chevalerie*, ed. R. T. House, p. 15.

¹² J. Scheible, *Sebastian Brandts Narrenschiff mit Geiler von Kaisersberg's Predigten darüber*, Stuttgart, 1845, p. 247.

¹³ ed. Potvin, l. 8932.

¹⁴ P. Meyer, *Le roman de Flamenca*, Paris, 1865 (second edition, 1901), l. 1157 ff.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, cf. also *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. F. W. Bourdillon, London, 1919, section 2, ll. 11-13, and other descriptions of late twelfth century and thirteenth century lovers.

to the papal prejudice against beards and was publicly shaved by Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris. This example on the part of the king sufficed no doubt to set the current of fashion definitely against beards and it was not until the reign of Philip VI of Valois that they again came into favor (1328).¹⁶

A passage in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* is a pleasant illustration of the attitude of the bearded toward the beardless. Brant is satirizing in his fourth chapter (*Von nurwen funden*) the style, apparently new in Germany in his time, of shaven face and abbreviated garments. To him it seemed immodest and "unsuitable." He proclaims eloquently for long beards. In Pierre Rivière's French translation (1497) we read:

Jadis estoit grande louange
Qui maintenant seroit étrange
Aux anciens pères porter
Grande barbe. Et devez noter
Que à l'exemple de Socrates
Tous les philozophes après
Et avant qu'il fust mort portoient
La barbe grant lesquelz estoient
Rempliz de grande sapience.¹⁷

Alexander Barclay in his so-called translation of the *Ship of Fools* (1514?)¹⁸ is of the same opinion, and praises the example of Socrates and other philosophers, who,

Bycause they wolde nought change that cam of nature,
Let grow theyre here without cuttinge or scissure.
At that tyme was it reputed to lawde and great honour
To haue longe here: the Beerde downe to the brest,
For so they used that were of moste valour,
Stryvynge together who myht be godlyest
Saddest, moste clenely, discretest, and moste honest.¹⁹

In the general decay of the present age, however, Rivière continues, wisdom has taken flight from earth. Men are ashamed of

¹⁶ Cf. Larousse, *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s. v. *barbe*.

¹⁷ Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff*, ed. F. Zarncke, p. 224. The French translation, by Pierre Rivière, is from the Latin translation of Jacob Locher.

¹⁸ ed. T. H. Jamieson, Edinburgh, 1874.

¹⁹ *loc. cit.*, I, p. 35.

their beards because they fear to seem no longer young. They fly in the face of Nature and think to improve on God's handiwork by wearing their faces smooth and their hair like Ethiopians, frizzled and short:

Tout le monde se contrefait
Et veullent ce que Dieu a fait
Par presumpcion contrefaire,
En cuidant mieulx que Dieu les faire
Qui est ung peché par trop grant.
Honteux sont et honte les prant
De porter grant barbe au visaige,
De peur de monstrier leur vieulx aage.
Mais leurs corps et viz si bien gardent,
Si bien les acoutrent et fardent,
Que jamais ne deviennent vieulx,
Se semble, et aussi leurs cheveux
Les ungz comme Sicambiens,²⁰
Et comme les Ethiopiens,
Les portent tous craispes et tors,
Faisant à nature grans tors.²¹

The "inconnu" ²² who translated the *Narrenschiff* into French prose (1498), reminds his readers that Brant's satire is for the Germans, among whom the shaven face and short doublet was the fashion. Among the French, he adds, would-be gallants are now seeking something new in beards. "God knows," he ejaculates, "if they have a share in this satire."²³

Nabaret seems to be a man who wishes to retain the appearance of youth; his wife says he should put on the philosophical beard, if he insists on lecturing her. Like most young women she scorns the old styles as much as old men scorn the new. But she uses a rapier for her attack, whereas Brant and his translators laid on with a bludgeon.

The domestic situation depicted in the *lai* of *Nabaret* is one in which twelfth and thirteenth century French poets delighted, and to

²⁰ A Germanic tribe inhabiting Belgium.

²¹ Zarncke, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 f.

²² Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, ed. F. Bobertag, *Deutsche National-Literatur*, p. xxiv.

²³ Zarncke, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

which they have given expression in numerous *chansons dramatiques* of the *mal mariée*. In these lyrics the sympathy of the poet is entirely on the side of the unhappy lady. In no ambiguous terms she declares her impatience of her husband, "vilains floris," and her intention to take a lover. Sometimes the husband holds his peace, sometimes he gives her paternal counsels, sometimes he threatens to cut down her allowance, sometimes he beats her. But the lyric always ends with the lady's triumph. She is even more saucy in the last line than in the first, and invariably sends her husband off humiliated by her witty retort.²⁴

The situation of the *chanson dramatique* with its airy indifference to a wife's duties appears in various narrative poems. We find it, for instance, in the story of Kaherdin and Gargeolain in the Tristan romance,²⁵ and in the Provençal novel *Flamenca* mentioned above.

Didactic poems, however, took the side of the husband. In the *Livre des Manières*²⁶ the poet strongly reproves the light-minded spendthrift who decks herself for her lover and has only hard words for her husband. He has the argument of the admirers of Tar-tuffe:

Quiconque à son mari veut plaire seulement,
Ma bru, n'a pas besoin de tant d'ajustement.

Jean de Meun, as we might expect, condemns her severely.²⁷ When we have read his lengthy tirade against the poor lady's frills and furbelows and his still longer proof that virtue is woman's fairest ornament, we begin to appreciate the success of the retort of the lady of *Nabaret*: "If you disapprove so much of being in the fashion, go and look like a doddering old patriarch yourself. Don't expect *me* to."

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²⁴ Cf. A. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, Paris, 1904, pp. 92-5.

²⁵ G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt, 1913, pp. 124-8.

²⁶ C. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1908, p. 23 ff.

²⁷ *Le Roman de la Rose*, tr. F. S. Ellis, Temple Classics, vol. II, p. 51, ll. 9107 ff.

LI DIS RAOUL HOSDAING

IN 1844 the English scholar, Thomas Wright, edited¹ from a Berne manuscript² an anonymous poem entitled *Le Borjois Borjon* as suggested by its last line, *Itel borjon ont li borjois*. In 1911 another version of this poem came to light in a manuscript in the collection of Lord Middleton at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, England, as catalogued in the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.³ Through the kindness of Lord and Lady Middleton and Mr. W. H. Stevenson, the eminent paleographer and editor of the publication referred to, I have been able to examine this manuscript and to procure a rotograph copy of the new version of the poem which I publish herewith.

The poem in the Wollaton version is one of several contained in a loose quire of velum folios found in the front of a thick velum manuscript executed by 13th century hands,⁴ and containing Old French romances and fabliaux in the Picard dialect. It is possible that the loose quire formed part of the main manuscript which is incomplete at the end and at one point at least in the middle. The hand is also a 13th century one. Nothing can be ascertained as to the history of the volume except a notation in a 15th century hand (folio 347 v), "John Bertrem de Thorp Kilton," (County York). Our poem begins on folio e, recto, column a and occupies about three

¹ *Anecdota Literaria*, 1844, p. 57.

² MS. Berne, No. 354, folio 114, r^o f.

³ *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, Hereford, 1911, p. 233. Cp. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1912, pp. 200 f; *Romania*, 1913, p. 145. The Wollaton version of *Ille et Galeron* of Gautier d'Arras has been discussed by E. S. Sheldon, *Modern Philology*, Nov. 1919, and F. A. G. Cowper, *Mod. Phil.*, March, 1921. The Wollaton text of the *Aspremont* was edited by L. Brandin, 1919-1922, 2 vols. (*Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Paris.) The version of *Ille et Galeron* also served H. W. Heimar in his study of the language of Gautier d'Arras: *La Langue de Gautier d'Arras*, Lund, 1920. Cp. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 1918, where M. Friedwagner has published the Middleton variants of the *Vengeance Raguidel*.

⁴ Cp. *Modern Philology*, March, 1921, p. 145. Professor Cowper remarked that the Wollaton text of *Ille et Galeron* was executed by two scribes.

columns (the manuscript text being in double column of 44-45 verses each), ending on folio *e*, verso, column *b*. Opposite the first line of the text, also in a 13th century hand, is the marginal notation, *li Dis Raoul Hosdaing*. The attribution of the poem to Raoul de Houdenc is strengthened in lines 8-9 of this version which I shall refer to as A as opposed to the anonymous Berne text as edited by Wright which will be called B:

Por tant l'apel fabel sans fable
Que Raols de Hosdaing⁵ commence.

A comparison of the spirit and language of the poem with those of Raoul's other known works bears this out as we shall see.

Raoul de Houdenc is known in Old French literature as the author of two Arthurian romances: *Meraugis de Portlesquez* and *La Vengeance Raguidel* in addition to some minor poems: *Romanz des Eles de la Proëce* and *Songe d'Enfer*.⁶ The present poem is therefore an addition to the works of this able writer who seems to have enjoyed a reputation in his day (circa 1200) almost equal to that of Chrétien de Troyes⁷ of whom he appears to have been a younger contemporary.⁸ Several towns bearing the name Houdan have claimed Raoul as a son, but the pretensions of Houdan (Seine et Oise) have a little more weight than the others.⁹ At any rate Raoul's language seems to be that of the Ile de France with but few dialectal traits and such was, according to all appearances, the original language of the poem here published. It confirms the evidence found in his other works that Raoul belonged to the

⁵ Cp. Friedwagner (Mathias), *Raoul von Houdenc, Sämtl Werke*, Halle, 1897-1909, I, lvii, note 1. The following variations in the spelling of Raoul's name occur in the mss: Hodenc, Houdenc, Houdanc, Housdaing, Hosdaing, Hodeng, Hodenge, Hodent, Hosdent, Hodan, Houdon.

⁶ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, I, *Meraugis*, 1897; II, *Vengeance Raguidel*, 1909. *Meraugis* was first edited by H. Michelant, Paris, 1869; *V. R.* by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862. The *Romanz des Eles* and *Songe d'Enfer* were edited by Tarbé, Reims, 1851. These two poems with a third ascribed to Raoul: *Songe de Paradis*, appeared in Scheler, *Trouvères Belges, nouv. série*, Louvain, 1879. The authenticity of the latter is no longer accepted. Cp. *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, XXV, 753; *Romania*, XXVII, 318 f.

⁷ To judge by a frequently quoted passage in the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* of Huon de Méry (Tarbé, Reims, 1851), pp. 104-105.

⁸ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, I, lxiii for approximate dates of Raoul's career.

⁹ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, II, lxxiii.

jongleur or traveling minstrel class. The *dit* is a direct arraignment of the noble and bourgeois classes on the score of avarice by a "*pauvre chevalier*" or "*leceor a pouvre robe.*"¹⁰

Besides Raoul's fame as an author of Arthurian romances he is best known to literary history as having been one of the early precursors of Guillaume de Lorris in the use of allegory and personification in Old French literature. His minor poems are, in fact, the earliest in Old French to be taken up entirely with allegory and personification.¹¹ The *dit* here published is also of this class.

The poem as edited by Wright contains no mention of the author. A comparison of versions A and B will show that the first ten verses of A are not found in B, whereas the first 28 verses of B are wanting in A. To make up for this difference A contains 22 verses not found in B. There are also other differences of varying importance which will be noted below. A numbers 126 verses and B has 122.

It seems reasonable to conclude that in A we have an earlier version of the poem. Version B represents the text with the passage suppressed (A, lines 1-10) in which Raoul has signed the poem. Some scribe or jongleur, in appropriating the *dit*, appears to have replaced it by a long banal passage (1-28) in general keeping with the spirit of the rest of the poem. This process of the elimination of the personal element of poems by jongleurs and scribes was common enough in the Middle Ages and thus it is that many versions of lyric poems have lost the envoi. Take for example the well-known poem of the Chatelain de Coucy: "*A vous amant plus qu'a nule autre gent.*"¹² Of 13 manuscript versions, only three preserve the envoi which is often the weakest part of a *chanson* and mainly interests the author. It therefore seems probable that the versions in which the envoi is preserved represent more primitive forms of the poem. For the same reason we may consider that Version A of our poem which keeps the attribution to Raoul, represents a form closer to the original.

¹⁰ Cp. below, verses 120 ff.

¹¹ Cp. C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur*, Halle, 1913, pp. 477 f.

¹² This *chanson* has been frequently published. Cp. J. Bedier and P. Aubry: *Les Chansons de Croisade*, Paris, 1909, pp. 97 f.

Version A also seems to keep more rigorously to the two case distinction.

A consideration of the rhyme and what can be learned from the fixed number of syllables in both A and B (it being here a question of 8 syllable rhymed couplets) seems to agree with the general result obtained from a like study of Raoul's Arthurian romances, that Raoul composed his work in a language corresponding to that of the Ile de France or to its immediate neighborhood.¹³ Version A, however, exhibits some Picard¹⁴ features in the body of the text, a scribal characteristic of the other works found in the Wollaton Ms. Version B has little trace of dialect.

In the beginning of the dit, Raoul after naming himself, complains of the decline of honor and the rise of shamelessness. On account of the prevalence of *avarisse* the jongleur no longer receives just reward from his patrons who are lacking in *cortesie*. The triumph of the vices of the age over the vanishing virtues is then depicted by means of personifications and abstractions:¹⁵ *onors*, *malvaisties*, *largece*, *honte*, *traison*, *agaïs*, *carites*, *pities*, etc. The keynote of the poem is furnished by the unequal struggle of *avarisse* and *largece*. *Onors* which was formerly the steed of *largece* can no longer run. *Avarisse* is mounted upon a charger now called *orgiels* (v. 48), now *traison* (v. 56). The armor and equipment of both riders and their mounts are described at length in allegorical terms. Very vividly is brought out the contrast between the good old times when jongleurs were fittingly honored, and the epoch blamed in the poem when *avarisse* had seized nobles,

¹³ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, I, lvii; II, lxxiii. *Gentius-vius* (rhyme words, A, 79-80), Picard forms, may be due to scribe.

¹⁴ Cp. *deciet* (11); *ceval* (55); *escar* (59); *rices* (72); *cier* (96); *cosse* (101); *cies* (101); *leceor* (120); *gentius* (79); *vius* (80); the numerous cases of *s = ts*: *mos* (13); *solas* (14) etc.; *cis* = *cist* (87); *fabliaus* (5). Forms worthy of note are the futures *encontrerra* (16); and *garra* (63), forms, however, not confined to Picard. Version B presents very few Northern forms: *Biax* (19); *chastiax* (78).

¹⁵ The germs of Raoul's ideas, are of course, found in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and the personification of vices and virtues found favor with the medieval Latin moralists, for example: Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, Bernard de Morlas, *De Contemptu Mundi*, Hugues de Fouilloi, *De Claustro Animae*, etc. For the numerous representations in art of these ideas cp. Emile Male, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*. Paris, 1912, Chapter III.

clergy and bourgeois alike. Raoul finds fault especially with the latter and above all with the grasping inn-keepers who strip the poor jongleur of everything down to his "burel de Louviers" (v. 119).

In the 13th century when the number of professional jongleurs had very greatly increased, the prevalence of avarice, the lamentable treatment accorded jongleurs by patrons, and the resulting poverty form the themes of many poems of the times and are frequently referred to.¹⁶ Raoul, for example, in the *Songe d'Enfer*¹⁷ relates that in hell there is a custom of inviting every newcomer to one's table. He then says:

Iceste coustume est faussee
En France: chascuns clot sa porte;
Nuz n'entre leenz s'il n'apporte;
Ce veons nos tout en apert.

There are also frequent references to the greed of inn-keepers in the poetry of the time.¹⁸ Raoul has occasion to find fault with them in the *Songe d'Enfer*:¹⁹

E li tavernier de Paris,
Cil ne les servent mie envis,
Ainz vous di, foi que doi Saint Piere,
Que il aiment de grant maniere
Mestrait et Mesconte et Hasart
Qu'a lor gaaing ont souvent part.

After mentioning a list of notorious inn-keepers, he continues:

206 Chascuns i prent, chascuns le plume,
C'est lor beance et lor coustume.

The manner and tone of our poem are thoroughly in keeping with

¹⁶ Cp. the long list of references given by Ed. Faral: *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1910, Chapter VII, p. 150, note 1. This list might be extended at will, for example: *Le dit de la dent*, 1. f. (*Rec. Gen. des Fabliaux* Mont. et Rey., I, 147); *Galeran de Bretagne*, 3397 f. Cp. Mont. et Rey., *ed. cit.*, II, 51, a fabliau where a bourgeois boasts of his largesse.

¹⁷ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, 380 f.

¹⁸ In addition to the reference to Latin poetry cited by Wright, *loc. cit.*, cp. *Richars li Beaus* (ed. Foerster, Wien, 1874), 4321 f; *Le Prestre Teint* (*Rec. Gen. des Fabliaux*, VI, 8, 1-28).

¹⁹ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, 183 f.

those of Raoul's minor poems where he has made a similar use of allegory and depicts vices and virtues in conflict, the moral decadence of his epoch, and the unequal struggle between liberality or *largece* and *avarisse*. This is the theme of the first part of the *Romanz des Eles* in which it is stressed that *prouesse* is vain and brings no honor with it unless it is provided with two wings: *largece* and *cortisie*. Among the feathers of the wings of *largece* are *donner promptement*, *donner largement* and *regaler souvent*. In the *Songe de Paradis*²⁰ (formerly ascribed to Raoul, at least written under his influence) we see the vices mounted and riding in a group:

Envie i estoit et Haine
Et Avarice la roïne

Avarice and *largece* have a prominent part in the allegorical theme of Raoul's *Songe d'Enfer*²¹ and verses 116f of that poem give the kernel of the theme of our poem:

Et de ce que il me requist
Respondi voir quar je li dis,
Que Doners ert las et mendis,
Povres et nus et en destrece;
Qui soloit avoir l'ainsneece
Or est mainsnez, or est du mains;
Doners n'ose moustrer ses mains,
Doners languist, ce est la somme.
James Doners chies nul haut homme
Ne fera deus biaux cops ensamble
A hautes cors de Doner samble
Que il n'ait mie le cuer sain,
Qu'en son sain tient ades sa main,
Lais, chetis, haïs, et blasmez.
Tolirs est biaux et renommez,
N'est pas chetis ne recreüs
Ainz est et granz et parcreüs;
De cuer, de cors, de bras, de mains
Est granz assez, Doners est nains.

²⁰ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, 520 f.

²¹ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, cp. the long passage beginning with line 27 and ending with 51-52:

Larguece, ainz est en si mal point
Que chies les riches n'en a point.

The text of the *Dit Raoul de Hosdaing* follows as it appears in the Middleton manuscript, with variants from the Berne Manuscript appended.

- Li dis Raoul (E) ²² ncontre le dolç tans qui vient.
de Hosdaing Me plaist por ce qu'il m'en souvient,
Que je die un fabel novel.²³
J'ai tort quant je fabel l'apel,
5 Car ce n'est mie fabliaus. Non,
Il n'a de fabel fors le non,
Car li dit en sont veritable;
Por tant l'apel fabel sans fable
Que *Raols de Hosdaing* commence.
10 Et si nos dist en sa sentence
Qu'onors deciet et honte avive.
Ja nus qui de demander ²⁴ vive,
Por beax mos ne por bel parler,
Por solas ne por viêler,
15 Por deduit ne por rien qu'il die,
N'enconterra mais cortesie,
Por ce qu'avis est as plusieurs
Qu'onors est honte et honte oneurs.
Por ce qu'ensi li est avis,
20 Acontre honor drecie son vis
Malvaisties qui honor confont.
Malvaisties croist et bontes font;
Largece muert et honte vit;
Traïsons danse et agais ²⁵ rit;
25 Carites crie, pities pleure;
Joie est desos et diels deseure;
Miels devient fiel et fiel espise.²⁶
Par quoi est ce que avarisse

²² A space is left here for an illuminated e. There are no illuminated capitals in the loose folios. The main MS. is in places, richly illuminated.

²³ Lines 3 f. Raoul here gives us his definition of a fabliau. Cp. *La Vielle Truande* (Mont. et Rey., V, 129) "*Des fables fait on les fabliaus.*"

²⁴ Cp. Scheler, ed. cit., *Roman des Eles*. 73:

Car je vos di
Cant li conteres a fini
Tant qu'il est poins de demander. . .

²⁵ *Agais* = fraud, craft.

²⁶ *Espise* = sweetmeats.

- A par tot largece abattue?
 30 Largece qui s'est conbatue
 Contre avarisse ne se puet
 Plus conbattre; per force estuet
 Que fuie. Mais sacies de voir
 S'ele peüst armes avoir,
 35 Molt se conbatist volentiers.
 Mais honors qui ert ses destriers,
 Ne puet corre, que que nus die.
 Ses escus ert de cortésie
 Et ses elmes fais de proëce,
 40 Sa baniere de gentillece.
 Orgiels qui contre raison vait,
 Sele a d'engien et frain d'agait,
 Poitral d'anui, escu²⁷ de honte.
 Avarisse qui dessus monte,
 45 Porte .i. escu de felonie²⁸
 A un goupil de tricerie,
 Taint de honte, bordé de plais;
 Ses obers²⁹ est de fause pais.
 Tot est torné en cest afaire
 50 Que li plusor n'ont mais que faire
 D'onor, ne iamais n'iert amée.
 Por c'est largece desarmée,
 Et avarisse fierement
 Est armée et cort plus devient
 55 Sor .i. ceval. Comment a non?
 Ses cevals a non traïson,³⁰
 Forgié de gile et de losenges.
 Et de s'espée sont les renges
 D'escar³¹ a uevre de faintise,
 60 Et l'espée est de covoitise
 Amorée³² de fausetés.
 Qui de tel espée est navrés

²⁷ MS. B. has *estier* for *escu* which makes a little better sense.

²⁸ Cp. Scheler, *ed. cit.*, *Rom. des Eles*, 464 f. and Huon de Méry *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist*, ed. Tarbé, 25, for lengthy allegorical descriptions of shields.

²⁹ *Obers* = haubert.

³⁰ The verse is obviously out of place in Version B.

³¹ *Escar*, *eschar* = derision, shame.

³² *Amorée* = sharpened.

- Ja n'en garra,³³ c'en est la fins.³⁴
 Covoitisse c'est li venins
 65 Dont li plusor sont encroté.³⁵
 Sa lance est de desloiauté
 Et sa banierie a non envie.
 Orguel, forfait, malvaie vie
 I sont escrit et tot mal³⁶ vises.
 70 Avarisse devant les lises,
 La honie, la desloiaus,
 Fait des plus rices ses casteax
 Ses banieres et ses amis.
 Ele a le vair, elle a le gris,³⁷
 75 Ele a quanque ses cuers demande,
 Por ce que quanque ele commande
 Est fait. Di ge que contêeur,
 Cil qui soloient par honeur
 Vivre des avoires as gentius,
 80 Ont tot perdu. Largece est vius.³⁸
 Por quoi? I'en dirai la maniere:
 Largece giue³⁹ a bote ariere
 Qui sielt iuer a bote avant.
 Ensi vait li detries devant.
 85 Fortune a la roe tournée;
 Por cest itels l'a bestornée⁴⁰
 Dont cis mondes est bestornés
 Quant cis maus mondes est tornés
 Devers deable a sa partie.
 90 Je di que [cil]⁴¹ ne menti mie
 Qui dist que li siecles faudroit.
 Por quoi nos veons orendroit

³³ Future tense.

³⁴ A favorite "cheville" of Raoul's used in strong affirmation. Cp. *ce est la somme*, p. 8 above, in passage quoted from the *Songe d'Enfer*, 116 f.

³⁵ *Encroté* = *engroté*.

³⁶ For *tot mals*, an evident lack of case agreement.

³⁷ MS. B. in line 4 has; *Avoir assez et vair et gris*, and omits the line at this point.

³⁸ *Vius* = *vils*; a Picard form.

³⁹ *Giue*, *iuer* = *joue*, *jouer*.

⁴⁰ *Bestornée* = turned in inverse sense.

⁴¹ The line as it stands lacks a syllable. MS. B. has *cil* and the correct number of syllables.

- Que li siecles est defallis.⁴²
 Por ce estuet que des fallis ⁴³
 95 Soit li siecles plains de tos sens.
 Onques ne vi por nul cier tens ⁴⁴
 Tel herbaut ⁴⁵ ne si grant destrece
 Con il est herbaus de povrece.
 Por cest herbaus que poi enlieve
 100 En proëce, proëce grieve
 As riches, c'est cosse provée;
 Proëce n'iert iamaï trovée
 Cies envesque ne cies provoïre.
 Boriois par sont tostans en foïre ⁴⁶
 105 D'engien, d'agait et de corion,⁴⁷
 Car en boriois a un borion
 Qui Prendre a non; si lor aprent ⁴⁸
 Que boriois est fols qui ne prent
 Quanque il puet de chevalier prendre.
 110 Quant boriois em puet .i. seul prendre,
 Soit son segnor o soit son oste,
 Tel hostel li fait qu'il li oste
 Del suen quanqu'il em puet oster.
 Tant con il se puet acoster
 115 Au prendre, tant le velt atraire.
 En la fin quant cil n'a que traire,
 Et li boriois en a tot trait,
 Lors ne sont pas plus tost retrait
 Li burel de Louviers ⁴⁹ de luj.
 120 Onques nul boriois ne conuj
 Qui povre chevalier amast
 Ne qui volentiers s'acostast

⁴² *Defallis* = weak.

⁴³ *Fallis* = cowards.

⁴⁴ *Cier tens* = famine, time of want.

⁴⁵ *Herbaut* = famine, want.

⁴⁶ *En foïre*, a free translation would be: dealing in.

⁴⁷ *Corion* = strap, scourge.

⁴⁸ Notice the word play in the rhyme from this point on and above, 85-88. Raoul was fond of this trick. Cp. *Veng. Rag.* 4565 f; *Meraugis*, 93 f. and à propos of this, Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, II, lxxxvi. Enjambement is also frequent in Raoul's poems and occurs in this poem. Cp. v. 31, 32, etc.

⁴⁹ Louviers (Eure), about 80 kilomètres from Houdan (Seine et Oise). It remains today an important centre for the manufacture of cloth, flannel and woolen fabrics.

- De leceor⁵⁰ a povre robe.
 Boriois n'ainme ome s'il nel robe;
 Ja tant n'iert sages ne cortois.
 126 Un tel borion⁵¹ ont li boriois.

Variants with ms. B as represented in the edition of Wright referred to: I-28 lacking in A

- Por beles rises conter,
 Soloient menestrel monter
 En grant enor et en grant pris,
 Avoir assez et voir et gris,
 5 Chevaux et deniers a desprendre,
 Tant con il en voloient prandre;
 Mais par foi, valor et proëce,
 Cortoisie, sen et largece,
 Et enors estoient alors
 10 En graignor pris qu'il ne sont ors:
 Car larjece est tote perie
 En clers et en chavalerie,
 En dames et en damoiseles
 Qui n'oent mais choses noveles.
 15 Car l'an ne trove qui rien done,
 Ne qui a celui gueredone
 Qui de bien dire s'entremet,
 Et son tans et s'entente i met
 A faire biax moz et en dire
 20 Chose qui face la gent rire.
 Por ce que li don sont chau,
 Sont⁵² Menestrel dechau
 Par maintes foiz de joie faire
 Et de biax moz dire ne traire,
 25 Que il aussent fait savoir
 O il cuidassent prou avoir
 Or escotez, fait-il silance,
 Je vos dirai en audience

The numbering of verses will now follow Ms. A from this point, the variants of Ms. B. being given for the corresponding lines.

⁵⁰ *Leceor*, frequently a synonym of *jongleur*, cp. Faral, *ed. cit.*, p. 147.

⁵¹ *Borion* = sprout, probably a word play on *borjois*. Cp. v. 106 above.

⁵² The verse is imperfect metrically as it stands in Wright, *ed. cit.*

Mere variations in spelling are not recorded: 12) *Que nus hom qui en cest mont vive.* 14) *Por solas ne por deporter* 16) *Ne trovera . . .* 17) *Car il est avis a plusors* 19) . . . *lor est avis* 22) . . . *et enor font.* 23) *Proëce muert . . .* 28) *Porquoi este-ce? Car avarice* 33) *Foir s'en . . .* 34) *Se ses armes poïst avoir* 35) *Trop . . .* 36) . . . *qui est ses destriers* 38) *Ses escus est . . .* 43) *Portrail d'envie, estier de honte* 45-48) *Not in B.* 49) *Tot est chau en tel afaire* 50) *Li riche n'en ont mais que faire* 51) . . . *n'ont amee.* 52-54) *not in B.* 56) *Li chevax . . .* 57) *ferre de guile . . .* 59) *D'orgoil dore, de faussetez* 60-61) *Not in B* 62) *Qui de tele espee . . .* 63) *N'en puet garir . . .* 64) *Car convoitise est li velins* 68) *orgoil, sorfait . . .* 69) *Il sont escrit es toz max vices* 70) *Covoitise . . .* 73-85) *Not in B.* 86) *Por c'est itex, la bestornee* 87) *Toz cist . . .* 88) *Tot cist max siegles . . .* 89) *Devers deiable par envie* 91) . . . *cist siecles . . .* 94) *Por ce lo dit que . . .* 95) *Est plains li siegles en toz sans* 96) *Onques mais ne fu si . . .* 97) *Ne tel herboz ne tel destrece* 98) . . . *herboz de larjece* 99) . . . *que nus n'enlieve* 102) *N'est jamais proëce trovee* 104) *Boriois resont tot dis en foire* 107) *Qui a non Prandre, et li aprant* 108) *Qu'il n'est pas borgois qui ne prent* 109) *De franc home ce q'an puet prendre* 110) . . . *en puet un sorprendre* 111) *A son ostel et a son oste* 112) . . . *qu'an li oste* 113) *Del suen ce que il puet oster* 115) *De prendre* 116) . . . *il n'a . . .* 118) *Lors li sont moult sovant retrait* 119) *Sen emprunz, s'il li fait enui (not found in A)* 120) *Car onques boriois ne quenui* 122) . . . *s'acointast* 126) *Itel borion.*

The order of verses is very different in places in the two versions. I append here a concordance by way of comparison.

A	B
wanting	1-28
1-10	wanting
11-43	29-61
44	63
45-48	wanting
49-51	79-81

52-54	wanting
55	62
56-59	64-67
60-61	wanting
62-72	68-78
73-85	wanting
86-118	82-114
119 (wanting in B)	115 (wanting in A)
120-126	116-122

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

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AMERICAN TRAVELLERS IN SPAIN

(continued from page 262)

V.—FOOD AND BEVERAGES

The early American traveller in Spain and even later travellers in isolated parts of that country were impressed both with the necessity of carrying with them not only the bed—of which we have already spoken—but also food and utensils for preparing it.¹ Adams tells us that he and his party in 1779 had to carry all of their food.² Jay in 1780 was obliged at Cádiz to make all provisions for meals to be taken on his journey to Madrid.³ Monroe when he travelled from Bayonne to Madrid in 1804 had to carry his own provisions.⁴ Ticknor in 1818 found the inns of Aragón especially lacking in provisions.⁵ Later travellers had similar experiences. Irving writes in 1829: "The *posadas* and *ventas* have seldom anything to give you."⁶ At a *venta* where Mrs. Allen stopped between Málaga and Granada in 1864 there was nothing to eat or drink not even water. She writes: "We asked for some water—there was none, but they would send a boy a quarter of a mile to get some."⁷

The traveller found that provisions, even where they were provided, were in many cases extremely meagre. At one house where Noah stopped he found nothing but wood and water.⁸ At the prin-

¹ Cf. C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 277; Washington Irving, *Alhambra*, New York, 1895, pp. 16, 29; Ford, pp. 82, 113, 122, 167, 168, 171; Larra, p. 165.

² Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 244; cf. *Rev. dip. corres.*, vol. iii, p. 458.—The food was carried in saddle bags on each mule: "There are wallets or saddle-bags on each made with canvas, in which we carry bread and cheese, meat, knives and forks, spoons, apples, and nuts." Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 243.

³ *Correspondence*, vol. i, pp. 333, 334. Cf. Swinburne, pp. 79, 116, 117, 231; Townsend, vol. i, pp. 1, 2.

⁴ *Diary*; cf. Noah, pp. 135, 168.

⁵ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 185.

⁶ *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 223; cf. *Works*, vol. vii, p. 535.

⁷ Allen, p. 486.

⁸ Noah, p. 187. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 163; Ticknor, *Travels*, p. 24; *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 17, 18, 228; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 188; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 29; Byrne, vol. ii, p. 16.

cial inn at Lake Albufera near Valencia Mackie was told the only provisions in the larder were potatoes and onions. "This was so characteristic of the country," says Mackie, "that I could scarcely refrain from laughing in his face."⁹ He adds that the nearest place where one could get bread was six miles away.

Much fun is made by travellers in general of the inn keeper and his ill provisioned inn. Variations of the conversation which Sancho Panza had with the *huésped* at the hostelry in Zaragoza are repeated frequently in books of travel.¹⁰ Mackie relates an amusing conversation with an innkeeper who began by saying "Hay de todo," but who had only the means of cooking and serving what the traveller had brought. On entering an inn Mackie has the following conversation with the innkeeper:

* P. 314.—In the Spanish writings of the period we are studying, this lack of provisions at Spanish inns is frequently mentioned. Cf. Larra, p. 450; Flores, vol. i, p. 317; *Panorama Matritense*, p. 107; *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, pp. 231-238.

¹⁰ "Llegóse la hora de cenar; recogieron á su estancia; preguntó Sancho al huésped que qué tenía para darles de cenar. Á lo que el huésped respondió que su boca sería medida; y así, que pidiese lo que quisiese: que de las pajaricas del aire, de las aves de la tierra y de los pescados del mar estaba proveída aquella venta.

—No es menester tanto—respondió Sancho; que con un par de pollos que nos asen tendremos lo suficiente, porque mi señor es delicado y come poco, y yo no soy tragantón en demasía.

Respondióle el huésped que no tenía pollos, porque los milanos los tenían asolados.

—Pues mande el señor huésped—dijo Sancho—asar una polla que sea tierna.

—¡Polla? ¡Mi padre!—respondió el huésped.—En verdad en verdad que envié ayer á la ciudad á vender más de cincuenta; pero, fuera de pollas, pida vuesa merced lo que quisiese.

—Desa manera—dijo Sancho—, no faltará ternera, ó cabrito.

—En casa, por ahora—respondió el huésped—, no lo hay, porque se ha acabado; pero la semana que viene lo habrá de sobra.

—¡Medrados estamos con eso!—respondió Sancho—. Yo pondré que vienen á resumirse todas estas faltas en las sobras que debe de haber de tocino y huevos.

—¡Por Dios—respondió el huésped —que es gentil relente el que mi huésped tiene! Pues hèle dicho que ni tengo pollas ni gallinas, y quiere que tenga huevos? Discurra, si quisiere, por otras delicadezas, y déjese de pedir gullurías.

—Resolvámonos, cuerpo de mí—dijo Sancho—, y dígame finalmente lo que tiene, y déjese de discurrimientos, señor huésped.

Dijo el ventero:

—Lo que real y verdaderamente tengo son dos uñas de vaca que parecen

"What now for supper, landlord?"

"*Hay de todo*. Everything is at the service of *Vuestra Merced*."

"Give me then a roast chicken, and a—"

"There is no roast chicken, Señor," interrupted the inn-keeper, hanging his head by way of obeisance.

"Give me a rabbit—with his feet on—"

"No rabbit, Señor." And the inn-keeper let his chops fall as well as his head.

"But you have a roast pig—a cut of cold beef—mutton cutlets—a partridge—pigeon pie?"

"The mesonero shook his head at each question. I then came to a full stop, thinking it better to give the poor man time to tell what he had got."¹¹

Thus it happened that frequently those who had not had the foresight to provide provisions were obliged to make excursions into the neighborhood. Irving writes in 1829: "You must either bring your provisions with you or forage for them through the village."¹² Mrs. Le Vert found it necessary to do this at Temblique even in 1855.¹³ Revere in speaking of the accomplishments of an attendant he took with him on his journey north, says: "He was, too, versed in cooking and in foraging,—no mean accomplishment in Spain."¹⁴

The American traveller's impressions of the meals in many of the inns were unfavorable. The rancid oil and garlic gave no little annoyance. Arthur Lee writes in 1777: "The Castilians are much *manos de ternera*, ó dos *manos de ternera* que parecen uñas de vaca; están cocidas, con sus garbanzos, cebollas y tocino, y la hora de ahora están diciendo: '¡Cómeme! ¡Cómeme!' " *Don Quijote*, part ii, chap. lix.

¹¹ Pp. 347, 348. Cf. *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 17, 18; Ford, p. 174.

Spanish writers of the period we are studying speak of the "*Hay de todo*" of the inn-keeper. Flores gives the following conversation between a traveller and an innkeeper:

"¿Pero aquí, qué es lo que hay?"

—Aquí hay de todo, respondió con orgullo el posadero."

The traveller asks for ham, eggs, and chicken in succession but is told each time there is none. Finally the inn-keeper informs him "*Hay aceite y sal y ajos, y si á sus mercedes les gusta el perejil y la cebolla, también se buscará.*" Flores, vol. i, p. 315.

¹² Irving, *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 223. Cf. Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 72, 74; Noah, p. 168; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 277; *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 219, 220; Bryant, p. 117; Bourgoing, vol. i, p. 3; Ford, p. 174.

¹³ Vol. ii, p. 14.

¹⁴ P. 70.

of the complexion of the Indians, but more ill-favored, and their dirtiness and garlic render them more offensive than paint and bear's grease do the savage."¹⁵ Hardly had Mrs. Cushing crossed the frontier in 1829 when she had her first experience with these "cosas españolas." She was at Irún: "I learned," she says, "before finishing the repast that I should be obliged to acquire a taste for them [oil and garlic] as no one dish came on the table, which was not cooked in oil, or seasoned with garlic."¹⁶ By the time she had reached Fresnillo she was beginning to acquire a taste for them. She gives an interesting description of the preparation of the food in the various earthen pots and jars around the fire. These dishes, although containing plenty of oil and garlic, she finds "far from unpalatable." The oil soup, however, is for her "disagreeable beyond measure."¹⁷ Both oil and garlic, she tells us, are found in almost every Spanish dish.¹⁸ Nevertheless, in spite of her great distaste at first for these two ingredients, she becomes later very fond of Spanish cooking.¹⁹ Another American found the oil very offensive. It was the principal ingredient of a dinner which was served him at Zaragoza.²⁰ The strong oil which he found was the chief substitute for butter, held an important place, he observed, in their greasy *ollas* and *pucheros*.²¹ Wallis writes that on his first visit to Spain in 1847 he was of the impression that the tales of the use of garlic were greatly exaggerated and that he went so far as to say that it was never served him in "*fonda, venta, or ventorillo*."²² On his next visit, however, he was not so fortunate, for it was served him even in the capital.²³ The oil and garlic nearly forced Warren into starvation during his first days in Spain. Nevertheless, he evidently became accustomed to them for at Tolosa he ate heartily of a meal highly flavored with both.²⁴ The majority of American travellers complain more or less at first of the oil and

¹⁵ *Journal*.

¹⁶ Vol. ii, p. 5; cf. *ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁷ Vol. ii, p. 37; cf. Mackie, pp. 155, 156.

¹⁸ Vol. ii, p. 53; cf. Ford, pp. 57, 178, 179.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²⁰ *Scenes in Spain*, p. 270.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

²² Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 94.

²³ *Spain*, pp. 9, 10.

²⁴ Pp. 21, 113.

garlic. They rarely speak, however, in such strong terms as Macoun who finds the Spanish *cuisine* "execrable" because of these ingredients. "Every article placed before you," he says, "is stewed, and strongly impregnated with rancid oil, garlic, saffron, an' red-pepper; and the newly-arrived stranger, whose stomach is unaccustomed to such high-flavored condiments, is obliged to fall back upon boiled eggs, bread and cheese."²⁵ March, like most American travellers in Spain, learned, on the contrary, to like Spanish cooking. He writes of the national dish: "I grew so enamored of it that, before long, the pungent garlic with which it was seasoned, and the rancid oil with which it was accompanied, became a second nature to me."²⁶ The following narration by Noah of his own experience at the *posada* of Torreblanca in 1814 is rather an exception:

"We arrived, fatigued and hungry in the evening at Torreblanca; the Posada was none of the best, but our good hostess, willing to prepare something for supper, seized a tough dung-hill cock, decapitated him without ceremony, dissected the bird, and placed the parts in an earthen dish, and with onions and tomatoes; we viewed the ceremony, of cooking the same, over a naffy of charcoal, and the addition of oil, of no great freshness, which was poured in the dish from the lamp feeder, sufficiently cured our appetite, without partaking of the dish."²⁷

On the whole the Americans seem to have adapted themselves more easily to Spanish dishes than did either the English or the French.²⁸ The latter were especially critical of the food. According to Pettigrew a breakfast served at Aranda one morning during his travels in Spain in 1859 was the cause of complaint among the French passengers of the diligence. He, however, found it very palatable although it was well flavored with garlic.²⁹

²⁵ *Knickerbocker*, vol. xli, pp. 98, 99.

²⁶ March, p. 136.

²⁷ P. 176; cf. *ibid.*, p. 182. This recalls Ford's statement that "the oil is used indifferently for lamps or stews."

²⁸ Both the English and French travellers make much fun of the oil and vinegar. Ford compares the wine, which he says sometimes serves for vinegar, to purple blacking. He says the table is plentiful and the cooking to those who like oil and garlic excellent. Ford, p. 57. Garlic, he found particularly offensive to the English. "The very name, like that of monk is enough to give offence to most English." *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁹ Pettigrew, p. 353.—In the opinion of Dumas Spanish oil and vinegar spoil

Because the national dish, the *olla* or the so-called *puchero* in the north of Spain, contained large quantities of the two ingredients just mentioned, it was not agreeable at first to the taste of many American travellers. For Maccoun it had no attractions.³⁰ The majority of American travellers, however, became quite as attached to it as did the Spaniard and not infrequently do we find them choosing it, as did that good governor Sancho Panza, in preference to some other dish.³¹ Wallis thinks it not unworthy the great Sancho's praise.³² Schroeder found the *olla* delicious.³³ Warren in 1849 not only acquired a taste for it but considered it a "sublime compound, a dish worthy of being devoured by monarchs."³⁴ Mackie, after acquiring a taste for the *olla podrida*, decided it was one of the two really good things in the country.³⁵ March, whose taste for the national dish increased daily, says: "If any day I was obliged to forego it, in travelling or otherwise, I thought with the Roman Emperor, 'I had missed a day.'"³⁶ He even goes so far as to say that it detained him three months in Spain.

for a Frenchman any dish of which they are a part. He particularly regretted on his visit to Spain in 1846 that these two ingredients made it necessary for him to renounce the pleasure of his daily salad. "Mais la verdure en Espagne n'avait d'autres résultats que de nous imposer de profonds regrets, puisque l'huile et le vinaigre espagnols sont si loin de nos mœurs culinaires que je défie à un Français si grand amateur qu'il soit de laitue, de raiponce ou d'escarole, d'avaler une seule bouchée de l'une ou de l'autre de ces herbes, si appétissantes cependant dès lors qu'on les a mises en contact avec l'un ou l'autre des deux liquides que nous venons d'énoncer." Vol. i, p. 172; cf. vol. i, p. 235.—Ford, to the contrary, finds the salad delicious. Pp. 133, 134; cf. Captain S. S. Widdrington, *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, London, 1844, vol. i, p. 236.

³⁰ He writes: "The famous *puchero* and *olla* may be very savory dishes for the Spaniard but for one accustomed to a civilized *cuisine*, a mixture of beef, bacon, sausages, beans, cabbage, carrots, onions, garlic, pepper, etc., etc., has no attractions." *Knickerbocker*, vol. xli, p. 99.

³¹ Sancho gives the following order to his doctor: "Lo que el maestra sala puede hacer es traerme estos que llaman ollas podridas, pue mientras más podridas son, mejor huelen, y en ellas puede embaular y encerrar todo lo que él quisiere como sea de comer, que yo se lo agradeceré, y se lo pagaré algún día." *Don Quijote*, part ii, chap. xlix.

³² *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 6.

³³ Vol. ii, p. 101; cf. Vassar, p. 340.

³⁴ P. 114.

³⁵ P. 156.

³⁶ P. 136. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 149; Taylor, pp. 429, 430.

This national dish is frequently described by American travellers. Noah writes: "The *olio* [*olla*] is a never failing Spanish dish; this consists of beef and pork, steamed down with cabbage, *garra vansas* [*garbanzos*] or large peas, together with other vegetables."³⁷ Others tell us it contains various other kinds of meat. In fact according to the descriptions given there seems to have been as much diversity in the contents as in the days of Sancho Panza.³⁸

According to Mackenzie the more elaborate kind of *olla* is called *olla podrida*. *Garbanzos* are mentioned as common to all with the exception of a *puchero* containing "avichuelas" [*habichuelas*] which Wallis tells us was served him at Jerez.³⁹ As in the days of Don Quijote it was "una olla de algo más vaca que carnero." Beef, pork, and bacon seem to have been the common meats of those described, but chicken, kid and other meats are sometimes mentioned. Noah who travelled in Andalucía says mutton is more plentiful than beef and is the favorite dish.⁴⁰

Up to the sixties the *olla* is mentioned by nearly every American traveller in Spain; many of whom give long descriptions of its composition and preparation and testify to its popularity.⁴¹ In

³⁷ P. 90; cf. Taylor, p. 405.

³⁸ Speaking of *ollas* Sancho says: "Por la diversidad de cosas que en las ollas podridas hay, no podré dejar de topar con alguna que me sea de gusto y de provecho." *Don Quijote*, part ii, chap. xlvii.—Spanish writers frequently mention pigs' feet when they describe the composition of the *olla*. In Breton de los Herreros we read:

"El Artesano aquí, sin esa embrolla
Que exalta y fanatiza al de Lutezia,
Su pitanza asegura, y no en su cholla
Hierva tanta utopía horrible ó necia.
Al oler los garbanzos de su olla,
Con vaca y pié de puerco y fina especia,
De buen grado algun prócer exclamara;
'Aquí estoy yo, maestro; una cuchara!'"

Manuel Breton de los Herreros, *La Desvergüenza*, Madrid, 1856, p. 200.

³⁹ *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 141.

⁴⁰ P. 90.—As in the days of the Knight of La Mancha, beef seems to have been cheaper than mutton when Townsend was in Spain some thirty years previous. Townsend was accustomed to enquire the prices of provisions before leaving a city. His figures like those of Laborde a few years later and of Inglis in 1830 show a lower price of beef as compared with that of mutton.

⁴¹ English and French travellers also testify to its universal use. Ford describes it at length and informs us that it is well made only in "well appointed Andalusian houses." Pp. 123, 124, 125; cf. Borrow, vol. i, p. 133.—Gautier

spite of its popularity with the natives and the American travellers, the demands for roast beef by the English and the demands for nothing less than the *cuisine française* by the French caused it gradually to disappear from the table of the inns along the beaten track of travel. With the *mantilla* and the Spanish dances it gradually lost its honored place so that by the sixties we find it seldom mentioned by travellers. With the general impulse felt in the country from the thirties on, foreign dishes began to take the place of native dishes at inns most frequented by foreigners. According to Mackie the *fondas* were already getting ashamed of the national dish in 1851. He says: "Half a century hence the traveller will be obliged to descend to the *ventorrillo* to get a taste of it."⁴² Eight years later Pettigrew was impressed with the *posada* at Lucena, which, as it was not often frequented by strangers, was of native simplicity and served a real *olla*.

"The *posada* being seldom visited by foreigners, was in the primitive style, none the worse, however, for that, as we at least, were not imposed upon in the cuisine; no boiled beef broiled up into steaks but a real *olla* and *huevos con jamón*."⁴³

At a small village in Cataluña where Mills was detained over night in 1865 because of a flooded stream, chops were served the guests but the family had *olla podrida*.⁴⁴

Mrs. Cushing was favorably impressed with the *guisado* although some of the other travellers recalling *Gil Blas* looked on it somewhat suspiciously.⁴⁵ *Gaspacho*, a very primitive dish composed of water, vinegar, salt and oil into which bread was broken was sometimes served the traveller in Andalucía.⁴⁶ The salad, so disliked by the French, seems to have met the approval of the

found it in 1840 the "mets éminemment espagnol, ou plutôt l'unique mets espagnol car on en mange tous les jours d'Irun à Cadix, et réciproquement." Pp. 23, 24.—It is also frequently mentioned by Spanish writers. Cf. Larra, p. 39; *La Desvergüenza*, p. 296.

⁴² Mackie, p. 155.

⁴³ P. 287.

⁴⁴ P. 133.

⁴⁵ Vol. ii, p. 277. Cf. Caleb Cushing, vol. i, p. 107; *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, p. 18; *Spain revisited*, vol. ii, p. 64; Mackie, p. 154; Ford, pp. 123, 131, 175.

⁴⁶ Cf. Noah, p. 166; *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 176, 227; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 121; Ford, p. 134; Gautier, p. 268.

American traveller as well as that of the English.⁴⁷ The *pollo con aroz* which one American finds excellent is seldom even mentioned.⁴⁸ *Bacalao* was still served as it was at the first inn where Don Quijote stopped when he started out in search of adventures.⁴⁹ Humphreys writes in 1791:

"At the public houses on the roads at a considerable distance from the sea, codfish from America is plentier and cheaper than other goods that are to be found. This seems the more strange as the droves of cattle, herds of swine and flocks of sheep are apparently numerous and excellent."⁵⁰

If the American traveller did not look with a favorable eye on this dish, which was placed before him not infrequently at poor *ventas*, he found, on the other hand, that the trout were excellent.⁵¹ In fact he was quite as pleased with a dish of trout as was Gil Blas' flattering guest at the supper in the *mesón* at Peñafior.

The famous ham of the Alpujarras receives words of praise from American travellers in general. Woodruff describing an excellent dinner he had at Almería December 9, 1828, says:

"Among the variety of viands, wines, and fruit, at this excellent dinner, was a Granada mountain ham, so much esteemed by the gourmands of France and England. It is cured in snow and sugar without smoke, and with little or no salt. It is known abroad by the name of sweet ham."⁵²

The *bellotas* on which the swine feed and which is supposed to

⁴⁷ Noah, Mackenzie, Wallis, Mills, Widdrington, Ford and others speak of it in favorable terms.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 418; Mackie, p. 343; Ford, p. 131.

⁴⁹ Francis Landon Humphreys, *Life and times of David Humphreys*, New York and London, 1917, vol. ii, p. 86; Baker, pp. 25, 184; *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 321; March, p. 212; *Nat. Mag.*, vol. xi, p. 360.

⁵⁰ Vol. ii, p. 86.

⁵¹ Cf. Revere, pp. 61, 63; March, pp. 232, 268, 305, 330; Bryant, pp. 71, 87, 158; Pettigrew, p. 368; Ford, pp. 21, 28.—The well known English traveller, Widdrington, already referred to, recommends the delicious trout of Castilla la Vieja and León. *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, vol. ii, p. 74.—Even Gautier found the trout a really excellent dish in Spain. Gautier, p. 141.

⁵² Pp. 255, 256. Cf. Revere, p. 55; March, p. 422; Mackie, p. 153; Pettigrew, pp. 281, 287.—Even Mrs. Byrne says that it is not difficult to approve *jamón con dulces* although he finds it somewhat incongruous to an English palate. Vol. ii, pp. 162, 163; cf. Ford, pp. 129, 130.

give to the meat its excellent flavor are mentioned by a few Americans.⁵³ One recalls the gift of these which Sancho Panza sent to his wife Teresa, another remembers that Sancho was a great lover of the *bellota*, but, strange to say, only one mentions the fact that it was a handful of these nuts that called forth that famous speech which Don Quijote made to the goatherds after enjoying their hospitality.⁵⁴

The *turron* of Alicante, that of Jijona, the preserves, the fruits and nuts, all receive their share of praise from the American traveller.⁵⁵

Until well toward the middle of the century, the American in Spain was impressed with the absence of both tea and coffee. Adams, to be sure, mentions drinking tea in a private family, but this seems to have been a mark of attention to him, and even on this occasion the ladies drank chocolate.⁵⁶ Neither of these beverages was known generally in the Peninsula when Jay took some tea among other provisions for the journey from Cádiz to Madrid in 1780. Mrs. Cushing in one of her letters from Spain in 1830 says that if tea and coffee are not absolutely unknown in the whole of Spain they are at least so scarce that few are able to buy them.⁵⁷ An American who about this time went ashore at Barcelona from the frigate *Constellation* was impressed with the Spanish custom in the cafés of mixing spirits with the coffee. He describes as follows a scene in a café on the Rambla:

⁵³ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 25; March, p. 208; Bryant, p. 115; Pettigrew, pp. 34, 281, 304. Cf. Swinburne, p. 85; Ford, p. 127.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xi.

⁵⁵ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 233; Noah, pp. 90, 176; Woodruff, pp. 236, 255; Caleb Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 274, 275, 278; Joseph Hart, *The Romance of Yachting*, New York, 1848, p. 277; Mackie, pp. 153, 154; [Mrs. James L. Claghorn], *Letters written to my son*, Philadelphia, 1873, p. 199; and many others speak favorably of these. The melon is frequently mentioned as of a very fine variety. It pleased Jay so much that he sent seeds of it to America.

⁵⁶ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 240.

⁵⁷ Vol. ii, p. 52.—Ford, a little later, was impressed with the same fact. Tea and coffee, he says, have supplanted chocolate in England and France but not in Spain. Ford, p. 143.—Gautier nearly ten years later was likewise impressed with its rare use. "Au reste il est d'un usage assez rare." P. 99.

"We were ushered into a large room furnished with a great number of small marble tables, around which were seated some dozen of groups who were engaged in loud conversation, and were allaying by means of a cup of strong coffee, the fumes of the wine with which they had washed down their dinner.

"Our tragedian sung out for *cuatro tazas de café*, which were forthwith brought in, and a small decanter of liquor was placed upon the table at the same time. Many of the Spaniards mix spirits with their coffee."⁵⁸

It was not, however, until some years after the death of Ferdinand VII when the doors of Spain were thrown open to the world and foreign influence both social and political entered, that the custom of drinking tea and coffee was really introduced into the country. With increased liberty came an increase in travel and with this increase in travel a catering to the wishes of the traveller, which meant tea for the English, coffee for the French, and both for the American.⁵⁹ The use of tea as well as coffee increased although slowly from the later forties on. At Jerez in 1847 Wallis was given tea by his landlady.⁶⁰ March tells us that in 1853 it was a frequent sight to see the Gaditanos taking their coffee or chocolate on the flat roof of the house.⁶¹ According to Bryant, however, neither coffee nor tea was in common use when he was in Spain four years later. He writes from Málaga, December, 1857: "Those who take coffee drink it at the cafés, as an occasional refreshment, just as they take an ice cream; and the use of tea, though on the increase, is by no means common."⁶²

Although the custom of drinking tea and coffee had been gradually introduced into different parts of the country both were usually badly made. Wallis says that at Córdoba in 1847 the people were

⁵⁸ P. 216.—Gautier about ten years later was impressed with the fact that coffee was not taken in cups but in glasses. "Le café ne se prend pas dans des tasses mais bien dans des verres." P. 99.

⁵⁹ A Spanish writer of that time writes that the history of tea in Spain is the history of the social and political regeneration of the country. "La historia del té en España es la historia de nuestra regeneración social y política. . . . Su importación de la China y su uso y su abuso, son la historia del uso y el abuso de nuestras libertades." Flores, vol. iii, p. 262.

⁶⁰ *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 150.

⁶¹ P. 140.

⁶² P. 177. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 127; Mills, p. 153.

amused when he ordered tea. He adds "they seemed to think it a much better joke than I did when I tried it."⁶³ Warren observes in 1849 that coffee is seldom taken by Spaniards and finds that even in Madrid one cannot get it well made. So difficult was it to get either tea or coffee well prepared that foreigners were obliged to substitute chocolate.⁶⁴ Mrs. Claghorn found both tea and coffee bad at Cádiz in 1866.^{65,66}

If good coffee and tea were lacking there was always excellent chocolate. The American traveller not only learned to take this instead of his favorite beverage, but also became very fond of it. Hardly one of them fails to expatiate on its perfections. Adams writes in his diary at El Ferrol, December 10, 1779: "Breakfasted on Spanish chocolate, which answers the fame it has acquired in the world."⁶⁷ On December 22, he describes the serving of chocolate to some ladies at a private house to which he was invited:

"A servant brought in a salver, with a number of tumblers of clean, clear glass, full of cold water, and a plate of cakes which were light pieces of sugar. Each lady took a tumbler of water and a piece of sugar, dipped her sugar in her tumbler of water, eat the one, and drank the other. The servant then brought in another

⁶³ *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 254.

⁶⁴ Pp. 84, 85.

⁶⁵ P. 195.

⁶⁶ Mrs. Byrne in Spain about the same time criticizes the coffee as she does things Spanish in general. "A little Spartan sauce," she says, "is by no means a despicable addition to a Spanish meal, and the coffee was scarcely such as to have been relished without it." Vol. i, pp. 67, 68; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 107, 183.—According to her the use of coffee had greatly increased by 1866. She writes: "*Café noir* and *café au lait* are very extensively consumed, and it is therefore all the more inexplicable why coffee should be so indifferent in quality." Pages 67, 68; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 107, 183, 184.—The custom of drinking tea was adopted even more slowly than that of coffee. This was due in a great measure no doubt to the cost which in 1866 was from \$1.80 per pound upwards. Mrs. Byrne says: "It is to be had at the *cafés*, but it is only asked for by such as wish to pass for having attained advanced ideas." *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 107, 183. And so it seemed to Flores who writes in 1863: "El gran tono es el té, ya le hemos dicho." Vol. iii, p. 272.—"Yo, te aseguro lector," says Flores in another place, "aunque me tengas por demasiado sentimental y romántico, que no puedo sorber, una taza de té sin pensar en las conquistas de la civilización. ni aspirar el aroma de sus hojas, sin sentir los aromas del árbol de la libertad." P. 262.

⁶⁷ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 232.

salver, of cups of hot chocolate. Each lady took a cup and drank it, and then cakes and bread and butter were served; then each lady took another cup of cold water, and here ended the repast."⁶⁸

Jarvis on one of his voyages to Spain in the latter part of the eighteenth century was favorably impressed by the chocolate that was served him at a private house in San Sebastián.⁶⁹ Noah in 1814 considers it the only thing that is made better in Spain than in any other country.⁷⁰ Warren in 1847 is of the same opinion.⁷¹ Schroeder tells us of the delicious chocolate served him in the *posada* at Loja in 1844.⁷² Mackie finds the chocolate one of the two good things in the country. For him it is "*una de las delicias españolas*." "Hot, and foamy, and purple," he describes it in his usual genial style when speaking of Spain, "it solaces the whole inner man. It satisfies at the same time the longings of the stomach and of the soul."⁷³ The preparation of the chocolate impressed some of the earlier travellers who stopped at small inns where the kitchen was the general gathering place of all. The chocolate is described as a composition of cocoa, sugar and cinnamon made into cakes. Mackenzie says: "To prepare the usual portion for one person, an ounce is thrown into three times its weight of water and, when dissolved by heat it is stirred by means of a piece of wood turned rapidly between the palms of the hands until the whole has a frothy consistency."⁷⁴ In the northern part of the country during

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 240.

⁶⁹ Mrs. M. Pepperrell Sparhawk Cutts, *Life and times of Hon. W. Jarvis*, New York, 1869, p. 102.

⁷⁰ P. 90.

⁷¹ P. 84; *cf. ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷² Vol. ii, p. 113; *cf. ibid.*, p. 111; *Knickerbocker*, vol. xix, p. 123.

⁷³ P. 157.—Although the French travellers had less to say about the chocolate than did those from the United States, they spoke of it in terms of approval. Even Dumas who makes much fun of Spanish cooking calls the *azucarillos* and *chocolate* excellent. "Tout cela," he says referring to them, "était d'une qualité supérieure." Dumas, vol. i, pp. 42, 43.—The English traveller accustomed to carry his tea with him wherever he went probably depended less on the chocolate than did those of other nationalities and for this reason has less to say about it. Mrs. Byrne, however, who praises very little that is Spanish finds it excellent but she adds that it is much too substantial for a beverage." Vol. i, p. 184; *cf. Ford*, p. 57.

⁷⁴ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 63. *Cf. Spain revisited*, vol. ii, p. 64; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 5.

the latter years of the period we are studying it was made very thin in the French manner, but in other parts of the country the delicious thick kind, the delight of the American traveller, was still served.⁷⁵

As to the manner of serving the chocolate, there seems to be a difference of opinion. Noah, in 1814, found it served in tumblers, but the majority of the travellers seem to have been impressed by the small size of the cups in which it was served.⁷⁶ Nearly all mention the custom of serving large tumblers of water with it.⁷⁷ The curious way of taking the chocolate by dipping slender sponge cakes or long slices of bread into the thick liquid attracted the attention of several travellers.⁷⁸

During the whole of the period we are studying chocolate was the universal morning beverage, and was taken frequently in the evening as well. It was drunk in the home, at the hotel, in the poorest *venta* and even on the road.^{78a} Mrs. Cushing relates that once when she was the only woman present, for the *venta* was kept by men, she was served chocolate in the morning. Noah speaks of taking chocolate in the "*Nevarreas* or chocolate houses."⁷⁹ Warren took chocolate in "*confiterías*."⁸⁰ In fact chocolate was taken everywhere.⁸¹ Vassar in 1853 noted that it could always be procured throughout Spain.⁸² According to Bryant it was still the universal beverage when he visited the country in 1857.⁸³ But with the inrush of foreigners, the use of coffee and tea, as already stated,

⁷⁵ Pettigrew, p. 364. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 354; *Knick. Mag.*, vol. xix, p. 123; Bryant, p. 177; Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 187.

⁷⁶ Dumas says they take their chocolate in thimbles. Dumas, vol. i, p. 70; cf. Ford, p. 143.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ford, p. 143.

⁷⁸ Cf. Noah, p. 90; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 223; Warren, p. 84; Bryant, pp. 127, 177.

^{78a} Cf. Revere, p. 56; Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 254, 276; Ford, pp. 57, 143.—Ford says chocolate is to the Spaniard what tea is to a Briton and what coffee is to a Gaul. Ford, p. 142.

⁷⁹ P. 90.—Noah no doubt means *neverías*. He frequently misspells Spanish words or uses them incorrectly.

⁸⁰ P. 84.

⁸¹ Even Ford writes: "It is to be had almost everywhere and is always excellent." P. 142.

⁸² P. 328.

⁸³ P. 177.

was increasing. With other "*cosas de España*," chocolate was giving way to the influence from without. Its power was decreased in proportion to the extent of the social and political changes in the country. In the sixties, it no longer reigns alone.^{82a}

Although the American traveller had often to do without his accustomed cup of tea or coffee, he generally found an abundance of pure, cool water to drink. The Spaniard's fondness for water (evidenced by the prominent place given to the *alcarraza* in the street, at every *diligence*- or railroad-station, in the home and in every inn, as well as by the numerous fountains), the sound of running water so common in Andalucía, and the familiar cry of the water carrier "*Agua fresca, fría como la nieve*"—all this greatly impressed the American traveller.^{82b}

Nor was the American traveller less struck by the sight of the *bota*, that common appendage of every conveyance in Spain.^{82c} Less critical of the wine than the English or French he was ever ready to take his turn at the *bota* during the long journey or at the country inn. Unlike some English travellers he does not seem to have noticed any disagreeable flavor from the pitch lining of the skin. Mackie, however, contrary to the opinion of most American travellers in Spain, finds the ordinary wine of the country too sweet when new and too rough when old.^{82d} The common wine seems to have been the *Valdepeñas*. It is frequently mentioned by American travellers in Spain as an excellent wine of a rich color and the com-

^{82a} Flores writes in 1863. "Hoy, Dios gracias, aunque no reina y gobierna, porque el sistema constitucional no consiente estos poderes ambidiestros, reina á medios con los otros dos poderes, el té y el café. Su nombre ha pasado á la posteridad con los de esos otros dos colegas, y algo es algo." Flores, vol. iii, p. 273.

^{82b} Cf. Noah, p. 90; Channing, p. 489; Woodruff, p. 255; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 78; Byrne, vol. i, p. 85; Ford, p. 138. Ford says that every *posada* has rows of water jars at the entrance, and that the first thing every one does on entering is to drink. Ford, p. 140.

^{82c} Ford speaks at length of the *bota*. He agrees with the American as to its universal use. "A Spanish woman," says Ford, "would as soon think of going to church without her fan or a Spanish man to a fair without a knife, as a traveller without his *bota*." Ford, p. 97.

^{82d} P. 162. Cf. Revere, p. 61; Taylor, p. 428.—Mrs. Byrne is much more severe in her criticism: "As for the *vin comun*," she says, "it is as inferior to the *vin ordinaire* of France as ditch-water is to Stogumber ale." Byrne, vol. i, p. xxix.

mon beverage of the country. Mrs. Le Vert considered that placed before them in Valdepeñas worthy to be set before an emperor.⁸⁸⁰

That sanitary fashion of taking the wine by holding the *bota* at arms' length and allowing a stream to flow into the mouth, struck nearly every American traveller and some even learned to take long draughts in this manner.⁸⁴

The sherry wine seems to have been in quite as good favor with the American travellers as with Falstaff.⁸⁵ Van Ness used it in Spain and had it sent to his brother in the United States.⁸⁶

A beverage which Warren calls the "national agraz," made from unfermented grape juice, receives his highest praise. "The gods themselves," he says, "never drank anything on a hot day, more invigorating and delicious."⁸⁷

Besides these beverages American travellers found most excellent the refreshing *naranjada* of Andalucía. A variety of *helados*,

⁸⁸⁰ Speaking of the inn at which they stopped, she says: "In place of water, upon the table there were large earthen vessels filled with this rich fruity wine, worthy of a place at the banquet of an emperor." Le Vert, vol. ii, p. 13.—Ford calls it the "generous Valdepeñas or the rich *vino de Toro*." An occasional smell of a *bota* of this is refreshing to the nostrils, according to Ford. "There the racy wine perfume lingers, and brings water into the mouth, it may be into the eyelids." Ford, p. 97; cf. *ibid.*, p. 147.—Swinburne wrote nearly a half a century before: "The *Val de Peñas* produces a very pleasant red wine, the most drinkable, for common use, of any in Spain." Swinburne, p. 319.—Mrs. Byrne, to the contrary disliked this wine. She says "the *Val de Peñas*, which is thought so much of in England, and really is a different article, is, here rather inferior to *liquorice tea*! besides being flavoured with pitch and undressed goatskins." Byrne, vol. i, p. xxix; cf. *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 161, 162; Ford, p. 57.—Ford, about thirty years before, was of quite a different opinion. "Very little pure *Valdepeñas*," says Ford, "ever reaches England; the numerous vendors' bold assertions to the contrary notwithstanding." Ford, p. 149.

⁸⁴ Noah, p. 134; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 175, 176; Mackie, p. 163; Mills, p. 135. Cf. Swinburne, pp. 7, 8; Ford, p. 98; Townsend, vol. i, p. 92.

⁸⁵ Mrs. Byrne, as in the case of the Valdepeñas, does not find it to be as good as in England. Byrne, vol. i, pp. xxiv, xxx.

⁸⁶ *The Van Buren papers*, vol. x, March 17, 1830.—Van Ness writes to Van Buren from Madrid, March 17, 1830: "I will thank you to tell my brother that I will write him particularly in a few days, and that I have sent orders to Xeres to have two quarter casks of the best sherry wine shipped for him, one of the pale and one of the brown colour." He offers to send the same to Van Buren. He says the price of the first class is about \$90 the quarter (30 gallons) and of the second class which he uses \$75. *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ P. 85.

the *horchata de chufas* and the *boisson d'amandes blanches* did not fail to satisfy the palate of even the French.⁸⁸

American travellers found it quite as difficult to procure cows' milk as they did tea and coffee. The universal custom of using goats' milk and the lack of suitable pasturage for cows in many localities, we are told, made it a rare and expensive luxury enjoyed by few. We are informed in *Scenes in Spain* that cows' milk is little used in 1831. However, with the improved facilities of transportation and the increase in the number of foreigners traveling in the country bringing new ideas and new demands, its use was introduced more generally. By 1849, along with other innovations, had come the *casas de vacas*. Many signs of these accompanied by the illustration of a cow being milked soon struck the eye of the traveller as he passed along the principal streets of Madrid. The milking, Wallis tells us, took place while the customer waited, if he so requested.⁸⁹ In spite of these *casas de vacas* Pettigrew finds milk rare in 1859.⁹⁰

Instead of cows' milk that of sheep, asses, and goats seems to have been in general use throughout the country.⁹¹ Many an American traveller found this milk very unpleasant to the taste. Pettigrew, on the contrary, found it quite agreeable.⁹² Noah was struck by the sight of a flock of goats going from *patio* to *patio* in the early morning to be milked while the customer waited. He found the milk rich and healthy.

"Milk is obtained from goats; large flocks are seen, with their drivers, at day break; the tinkling of their bells disturbs the morn-

⁸⁸ Ford, however, considered these too sweet. P. 144.

⁸⁹ Wallis, *Spain*, p. 334.—Suspicious as usual of Spanish things, Mrs. Bryne thinks it hardly safe to purchase milk here unless one can witness the milking. Byrne, vol. i, p. 204.

⁹⁰ Pettigrew, p. 296. Cf. Bryant, p. 89; Claghorn, p. 199.—According to Mrs. Byrne it was a favorite beverage in 1861 at the capital where the *casas de vacas* were numerous. Byrne, vol. i, p. 204.—At the cafés, she was struck by the sight of men sipping milk while smoking cigars. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 183.

⁹¹ Cf. Ford, p. 74.

⁹² P. 286.—None, however, praise it as does the English traveller, Widdrington, who drank it almost exclusively during his travels in Estremadura. He says: "We drank little wine, and abundance of goats' milk, that is not only the best in the world, but superior to any other milk I ever tasted." *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, vol. i, p. 236.

ing nap; the driver brings them into the *patio* of the house, and the milk is received into the vessel, fresh from the goat, which is rich, and healthy, and also a great article of trade."⁹³

Wallis was impressed by a similar daily scene at the capital in 1849. The goats after spending the whole day in the surrounding hills were brought into the city by the goatherd. The author says:

"As they go to the houses of their customers, the maids run out with their milk-vessels in search of the evening supply. The goat-herd seizes the nearest of the flock, and proceeds to business in the middle of the street, while the rest of his company, immediately conscious of a pause in the march, bivouac on the stones till the milking is over. A signal, which they only understand, then sets their bells in a moment to tinkling, and the procession advances, at its leisure, until the calling of another halt."⁹⁴

This was still the mode of delivering milk in 1859.⁹⁵

Another article of consumption, missed quite as much by the American traveller as cows' milk, was the butter made from its cream. According to Noah this was very scarce at Cádiz in 1814. Foreign residents were at that time using imported firkin butter.^{96a} Mrs. Cushing writes about fifteen years later that it is so scarce in the whole country that few can afford to purchase it.⁹⁶ There was, however, even before this date a highly colored butter, called *manteca de Flandes*. It was advertised in one of the daily papers at Madrid when Mackenzie was in Spain in 1826.⁹⁷ Wallis found it very rancid in 1847.⁹⁸ On his second visit, he was very happily impressed with an innovation in the way of the making and selling of butter at only a moderately high rate at the royal dairy at Moncloa, near Madrid. This same year, 1849, salted butter at a lower price was obtainable from the Asturias. Wallis writes of this improvement:

"If he [the traveller] should chance to have been in Spain before,

⁹³ P. 90.

⁹⁴ *Spain*, pp. 335, 336.

⁹⁵ Pettigrew, p. 286.

^{96a} P. 90.

⁹⁶ Vol. ii, p. 52.

⁹⁷ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 140.

⁹⁸ *Glimpses of Spain*, pp. 150, 151; cf. Ford, p. 153.

or to have recently sojourned in any of the districts where things continue to be as they were in the beginning, he will rejoice in his deliverance from goat's milk and the butter prepared from it, or that insufferable compound, *manteca de Flandres* (Flemish butter).⁹⁹

According to Mackie it was very difficult to get good butter when he was in Spain in 1851 and 1852.¹⁰⁰ March, however, found very good butter at Gaucin in 1853.¹⁰¹ Channing, on the contrary, found no butter on his journey from Irún to Madrid in 1852. Neither does he agree with Wallis as to the quality of that furnished in the capital. He says: "They have in Madrid what they call butter, but it did not remind me of the article."¹⁰² Mills was unable to get butter at Toledo in 1865.¹⁰³

One article of food which travellers in general speak well of in Spain is the bread. Noah considered it inferior to none in the world. Vassar found the bread excellent throughout Spain in 1853.¹⁰⁴ The bread of Sevilla is especially praised by all. It is described as not as spongy as that of the United States but of a

⁹⁹ Wallis, *Spain*, p. 335.—According to Ford good butter was obtainable even before this. P. 133.

¹⁰⁰ P. 159.

¹⁰¹ P. 305.

¹⁰² P. 488.

¹⁰³ P. 70. Cf. Bryant, p. 89; Claghorn, p. 199.—No American traveller is, however, as severe in his criticism of the butter in Spain as is Mrs. Byrne. Speaking of the food at San Sebastián she says: "As for the *manteca* that was altogether impossible, as we know of no circumstance which could have induced us even to taste the tallowy looking garlic-scented compound. Had there been any compulsion to 'grease our bread' we should have infinitely preferred an English candle end." Byrne, vol. i, p. 68.—She was quite as suspicious of the butter sold at the *casas de vacas* in Madrid as she was of their milk. Neither did she risk taking that served at the cafés. Of a breakfast at one of the latter she writes: "We called the *mozo*, and asked if we could have *café-leche con pan*; as for *manteca*, which he offered us we had long since discarded that condiment from our bill of fare." *Ibid.*, p. 183; cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 91.

¹⁰⁴ P. 328.—Even the English praised the bread. Ford frequently speaks of the good bread in Spain. Ford, p. 87, *passim*.—Mrs. Byrne praises it again and again. In her opinion it is one of "the only two articles of consumption that the natives can turn out credibly." Byrne, vol. i, pp. 96, 91, 107, 185.—According to her the only redeeming feature of the Spanish railroad buffet, at that time not generally known in Spain and most inferior to that of other countries, was the water and the bread the quality of which she says is "such as not easily procured in any other country." Vol. i, p. 85.

closer grain and firm. It remains fresh, we are told, for a week and sometimes longer. Even then it is equal to the best of other countries. "A loaf of it with Spanish chocolate," says Pettigrew, "is a breakfast for a king." Some call it *pan de Dios*.¹⁰⁵ Its superiority at Sevilla is frequently attributed by travellers to the peculiarity of the water at Alcalá de los Panaderos, the nearby town where it is made.¹⁰⁶ The sight of this town of bakers was an impressive one to Warren. He tells us that at the time of his visit in 1849 there were more than two hundred mills in operation and fifty ovens in constant use.¹⁰⁷

While the majority of American travellers in Spain acquired a taste for the *olla*, praised the chocolate, the bread, the trout, the *dulces* and the fruit, and soon adapted themselves to Spanish cooking in general, few failed at some stage of their travels to criticize it. In *Scenes in Spain* we read the *cuisine* at Madrid is detestable in 1831, "a century behind the elegance of Paris."¹⁰⁸ Vail on his journey from Irún to Madrid in 1840 found the food very unpleasant. In a letter dated Madrid, December 10, 1840, he writes to Van Buren:

"The traveller is allowed but six hours rest each night, mostly at inns of the most primitive character, and has to fare on the most loathsome compound of rancid oil, garlic, horse beans, and tough meat frequently taken from a goat dead of natural death or starvation."¹⁰⁹

In the forties the general impulse given to the country began to show itself in the cooking. French *chefs* became more numerous and there was a tendency to imitate French and English dishes. Wallis, on his second visit to Spain found the cooking in general much improved, but most of the restaurants bad. The table d'hôte of the *Vizcaína* at Madrid he says "has a modified nationality of diet which has carried comfort to the bosom of many a wayfarer."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Alhambra*, p. 22; *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 264; Mackie, p. 345; Ford, p. 115.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 264; Warren, p. 133; Taylor, p. 405; Le Vert, vol. ii, p. 1; Pettigrew, p. 23; Ford, p. 115.

¹⁰⁷ P. 133; cf. Ford, p. 115.

¹⁰⁸ P. 181.

¹⁰⁹ *The Van Buren papers*, vol. xli; cf. Vassar, p. 142.

¹¹⁰ *Spain*, p. 8.

Two of the restaurants of the capital are mentioned by him as good. However, he considers Barcelona, Sevilla, Cádiz, and especially Málaga as better provided than Madrid. According to Schroeder the *cuisine* at Málaga was excellent more than five years before. He was evidently well impressed with Spanish cooking for he writes he "can testify in favour of the excellence of Spanish cooks."¹¹¹ According to Warren Spanish cooking is extremely unpleasant to the unaccustomed palate but he tells us not to wonder that any Spanish dish should be eaten with a relish by a foreigner who has lived in the country.¹¹² Mackie on his journey from Valencia to Madrid in 1852 found "no evidence of any high culinary art. "But," he adds, "who that travels in the peninsula expects to do anything more than keep body and soul together?"¹¹³ Taylor at about the same date finds the *cuisine* at the *Fonda de Madrid*, Sevilla, excellent. At Carmona he was not so fortunate and he says that according to reports the cooking is even worse in the interior.¹¹⁴ Maccoun the same year considers the cooking of the poorest village inn of France better than that of Spain. "The Spanish *cuisine*," he says, "is execrable."¹¹⁵ Maccoun, however, in his extremely adverse criticism is an exception among the American travellers. Mrs. Le Vert, in Spain about three years later, frequently speaks of very good meals.¹¹⁶ She believes that all the stories about poor inns are false and states that she has found the inns excellent.¹¹⁷ The only place where she was not well and plenteously served was at the town of Igualda beyond Monserrat.¹¹⁸ Mrs. Allen who travelled in Spain in 1864 is of quite a different opinion. She expresses her satisfaction, on her arrival at Bayonne, at being in a French hotel "where French cooking restored their flagging appetites."¹¹⁹ Mrs. Claghorn two years later found the

¹¹¹ Vol. ii, p. 163.

¹¹² Pp. 112, 113; cf. Mackie, pp. 155, 156.

¹¹³ P. 345; cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 418.

¹¹⁴ P. 406.

¹¹⁵ *Knick. Mag.*, vol. xli, pp. 98, 99.

¹¹⁶ Vol. i, p. 329; vol. ii, pp. 3, 8, 11, 15, 16, 48, 57.

¹¹⁷ Vol. ii, p. 25; cf. Channing, p. 491.

¹¹⁸ Vol. ii, p. 53.

¹¹⁹ She says: "It was pleasant to be again in a French hotel where cleanliness, a rare luxury in Spain, was the rule, and where French cooking restored our flagging appetites, weary of the everlasting Spanish oil." Pp. 504, 505.

accommodations in Spain bad in general but the cooking especially so. Unlike other travellers she has not even a good word to say for the bread. She writes in one of her letters: "I feel half starved most of the time and cannot even fall back upon the bread and butter, for they are as bad as can be."¹²⁰ Mills who travelled in Spain the year before, and much more extensively, found the *cuisine*, in general, tolerable. "One can always find," he says, "excellent chocolate, bread, salad and generally a good cutlet or chop, however, wherever he goes."¹²²

Although the American traveller's criticism of Spanish cooking is rather sharp in some cases, it is on the whole much less poignant than that of the Italian, French or English.¹²²

¹²⁰ Pp. 196, 198.

¹²¹ P. 70.

¹²² By far more acrid in his opinion of Spanish cooking than the American was the Italian, Pecchio, who writes from Briviesca in 1821: "In verita, avrei rinunziato volentieri la notte scorsa a quattro sensi almeno. Una zuppa che non avrebbe allettato neppure un can levriere di ritorno dalla caccia, Costole abbrustolite di castrato delicate come quella scomunica in pergamena che Barnabò Visconti fece trangugiare ai legati del Papa; vino fetente di pelle di caprone; quattro noci ben secche, senza tovaglie, senza cambio di piatti, ecco la cena che ci fu imbandita nell' osteria del mastro di posta di . . ." Pecchio, p. 5.—The execrable *cuisine* was one thing for which the French could not forgive their neighbors across the Pyrenees. Had they ventured into unfrequented sections, as did the Americans, instead of following the beaten track it is difficult to conjecture what they might have said. We read in *Le voyage en Espagne*: "La cuisine de l'Espagne, et les hôtelleries, n'ont pas été sensiblement améliorées depuis don Quichotte; les peintures d'omelettes emplumées, de merluches coriaces, d'huile rance et de pois chiches pouvant servir de balles pour les fusils sont encore de la plus exacte vérité; mais, par exemple, je ne sais pas où l'on trouverait aujourd'hui les belles poulardes et les oies monstrueuses des noces de Gamache." Gautier, pp. 138, 139.—Dumas found the food even worse than that of Italy. "En Italie," he says, "où l'on mange mal, les bons restaurateurs sont français; en Espagne, où l'on ne mange pas du tout, les bons restaurateurs sont italiens." Dumas, vol. i, p. 70.—The English had hardly a better opinion of Spanish cooking than had the French and Italians. According to Ford "but few things are ever done in Spain in *real style*, which implies forethought and expense; everything is a make-shift." Culinary conditions he thinks quite as bad as in the East. "Spain, as the East, is not to be enjoyed by the over-fastidious in the fleshy comforts; there, those who over analyse, who peep too much behind the culinary or domestic curtains, must not expect to pass a tranquil existence." Ford, pp. 107, 168.—Ford frequently ridicules the cooking. Roasting, a requisite in every English *cuisine*, he found almost unknown in Spain.—Mrs. Byrne, although in Spain only a year after Mills

According to American travellers, the accommodations, then, furnished by the lonely *venta* and the village inn, were on the whole meagre until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century and even until much later off the main routes of travel. The *fondas*, too, although they improved greatly in the larger cities during the general awakening following the death of Ferdinand VII, were far from furnishing those comforts found in other countries where there was more travel.¹²³

has quite a different opinion from him as to the food. She not only found it poor but sometimes extremely scanty. Like her fellow-countrymen and the French she has much to say about the cuisine. Her descriptions of the "skeletons compressed into tightly strained parchment skins served for chicken" and "the tallowy butter" remind one of some in *Don Quijote*, and in *Le Voyage en Espagne*. Like other English travellers—and contrary to the custom of American travellers—she constantly compares with the English. The famous Spanish hams she does not find as appetising as "a respectable English ham," and the wine is not as good as that of England. Indeed for her "the Spanish cuisine is such a ticklish affair that it would be hard for an Englishman to be compelled to feed at any given place in Spain." Byrne, vol. i, pp. 91, 172. —Again she writes of the Madrid Foundling: "The food is such as the country affords, and such as the habits of the people have rendered admissible but it would not be palatable to English taste." *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 90.

¹²³ In the writings of Spaniards of that day, we find ample testimony as to these conditions. Larra writes of the *posadas* of Estremadura: "En segundo lugar esas posadas, fieles a nuestras antiguas tradiciones, son por el estilo de la que nos pinta Moratín en una de sus comedias; todas las de la carrera rivalizan en miseria y desagrado, excepto la de Navalcarnero, que es peor y campa sola sin émulos ni rivales por su rara originalidad y su desmantelamiento; entiéndase que hablo sólo de la que pertenece á la empresa de los mensajerías—habrá otras mejores tal vez; no es difícil." Larra, p. 450.

The bad inn is frequently cited by Breton de los Herreros. In the comedy, *A Madrid no vuelvo*, Don Baltasar finding the guest has not gotten up looks at his watch and says:

"Las siete. Estos cortesanos
Son lo mismo que las aves
Nocturnas. Eh, no me admiro
Después de un molesto viaje
Por caminos tan perversos
Y posadas tan fatales. . . ."

Manuel Breton de los Herreros, *Obras escogidas*, Paris, 1862, vol. i.

In *Una noche en Burgos* Don Celed replies to his daughter who says that Don Luis, whom he wishes to entertain, may prefer his liberty at the inn:

Pues más completa
la tendrá allí que en un mal
parador.

Manuel Breton de los Herreros, *Una noche en Burgos*,
Madrid, 1843, p. 32.

Because of these conditions, during the early part of the period we are studying, it was the custom, in places where there were no good inns, to entertain travellers of the upper classes in the homes. William Carmichael writes to Short in 1792 that he can procure him letters of introduction to the principal persons in the different cities of Spain through which he may pass.¹²⁴ Monroe found the inns so bad at Irún in 1804 that he gladly accepted an invitation to spend the night at the home of one of the foreign ministers. Here he found "some others of the best society of the Travellers who were detained by the cordon."¹²⁵ Ticknor was entertained by the higher clergy and others in 1818. His reception by the postmaster of Madrilejos particularly impressed him. Of this circumstance he writes:

"My license to post was endorsed with a particular order from the Ministry, that the postmasters should receive me with attention, and give me any assistance I might need. The one at Madrilejos showed, from the moment I entered his house, a kind of dignified obedience to his order, which struck me."¹²⁶

Irving in speaking of his visit to Moguer in 1828 says: "Few people travel for pleasure or curiosity in these out-of-the-way parts of Spain, and those of any note are generally received into private houses."¹²⁷

When he presented his letter of introduction at the house of one of the descendants of the Pinzóns, who sailed with Columbus,

¹²⁴ He writes from Madrid September 9, 1792: "As I am generally known here, I can procure you letters of introduction to the principal persons in the different cities thro' which you may pass." *The papers of William Short*, Manuscript Division, L. C., vol. xxi.

¹²⁵ *Diary*.—Townsend was favorably impressed by his hospitable reception at the homes of Spaniards during his travels in Spain in 1786 and 1787. Now he is received by a family whose "style of living resembles the old British hospitality," now by the Archbishop at Sevilla who is "well lodged and keeps a hospitable table," now by the Count of Afalto, governor of Barcelona and captain general of the province. He speaks especially of his entertainment by the upper clergy of whom he has a high opinion. In his directions to those who expect to travel in Spain, he mentions the necessity of letters of introduction to the principal families in the places to be visited. Vol. ii, pp. 43, 49, 288, 289; vol. iii, pp. 319, 321.

¹²⁶ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 222.

¹²⁷ *Works*, vol. vii, p. 536.

he was immediately invited to give up his room at the inn for one in their home. Although the inn was one of the primitive kind already described, ill provided with the necessary comforts, Irving did not feel it would be right for him to change, as the kind innkeeper had taken some trouble for his accommodation. However, he took his meals with the Pinzóns during his sojourn in the place, and was deeply impressed by their kindness.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Irving, *Works*, vol. vii, p. 538.—Widdrington is told at Almadén: "It is impossible that you can stop at the posada, which is only fit for arrieros; the governor having only just been appointed is a bachelor, and has but a limited number of beds which are now occupied, otherwise he would have received you at his house." *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, vol. i, p. 162; cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 16, 106.—Not infrequently did the village priest entertain the stranger. Ford says: "It has more than once befallen us in the rude *ventas* of the Salamanca district, that the silver-haired *cura*, whose living barely furnished the means whereby to live, on hearing the simple fact that an Englishman was arrived, has come down to offer his house and fare." Ford, p. 180.—Borrow in spite of his persistency in thrusting his bibles on the community was invited by an old priest whom he met at the Irish college in Salamanca to pay him a visit on passing through his village. Borrow, vol. i, pp. 281, 308; cf. *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 40, 79, 89.—That the traveller was frequently entertained in private homes is corroborated in the Spanish writings of that day. The *hospedador de provincia* according to Rivas was a Spanish type which had not changed in the slightest during the general overthrow following the death of Ferdinand VII. "¿Quién podrá imaginar que el hombre acomodado, que vive en una ciudad de provincia, ó en un pueblo de alguna consideración, y que se complace en alojar y obsequiar en su casa á los transeuntes que le van recomendados, ó con quienes tiene relaciones, es un tipo de la sociedad española, y un tipo que apenas ha padecido la más ligera alteración en el trastorno general, que no ha dejado títere con cabeza? Pues, sí, pío lector; ese benévolo personaje que se ejercita en practicar la recomendable virtud de la hospitalidad, y a quien llamaremos el *Hospedador de Provincia*, es una planta indígena de nuestro suelo, que se conserva inalterable. *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. i, p. 384.—The *hospedador de provincia*, he tells us, is known to all Spaniards and to all foreigners who have travelled in Spain. Both the travellers in the *coche de colleras* or those in the post chaise of forty years before the travellers of his day, in diligence, galera, or on horseback, all he contends have experienced this hospitality. P. 385.—Larra praises particularly the hospitality of Badajoz: "La amabilidad sin embargo y el trato fino de las personas y familias principales de Badajoz compensan con usura las desventajas del pueblo, y si bien carece de atractivos para detener mucho tiempo en su seno al viajero, al mismo tiempo le es difícil á éste separarse de él sin un profundo sentimiento de gratitud por poco que haya conocido personas de Badajoz y que haya tenido ocasión de recibir sus obsequios y de ser objeto de sus atracciones." P. 450.—The comedies of that day also mention the fact that the traveller was entertained in private houses. Breton de los Herreros gives a good picture of this hospitality

These and other examples of hospitality will be considered more in detail in the chapter entitled, "The People."

in *Una Noche en Burgos*. One of the chief characters, Don Celed, replies to the posadera who complains that he takes away her guests:

"Muger, deja que despunte
en mi amigable recinto
este benéfico instinto
de hospedar al transeunte."

The doors of Don Celed's house are always open wide to the stranger or to friends. He replied to Don Luis who does not wish to trouble him:

"¡Quiá!
Obsequiar al forastero,
Sea Pedro, ó sea Juan
es mi delicia; y al hijo
de un amigo tan cordial
cuando á nadie se la cierro,
¿no he de abrir de par en par
mi puerta?"

P. 32; cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

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“C’E sont des sujets si rebattus que je n’ose presque pas vous les nommer. c’est . . . ah! vous allez vous écrier . . . c’est oui, c’est sur les trois unités”. . . .

(Letter of Manzoni to Fauriel, June 11, 1817.)

“Ed io son persuaso che una qualunque verità pubblicata contribuisce sempre ad illuminare e riordinare un tal poco il caos delle nozioni dell’ universale, che sono il principio delle azioni dell’ universale.”

(First letter of Manzoni to Fauriel, February 9, 1806.)

J. B. Galley, in his life of Fauriel says of Manzoni’s *Carmagnola*: “Que cette pièce ait été écrite à Paris, près de lui (Fauriel) avec ses conseils, c’est certain. Il n’est pas moins certain qu’il en a revu la forme. Mais je pense qu’il est possible d’attribuer à son inspiration des vues d’histoire littéraire qui sont trop de son domaine. Les données historiques sur la formation de la tragédie française y sont exposées avec une sûreté qui révèle une connaissance approfondie du XVII^e siècle: je ne crois pas exagérer en voyant là des indications de Fauriel. Mais dans l’opuscule (*Letter to Chauvet*) le débat est porté plus haut. Shakespeare qu’on ne lisait encore en France que dans la première traduction de Letourneur (1776-1783) y est cité à toutes les pages, et la louange, pour n’être pas sans réserve, y paraît enthousiaste. Il est possible que Fauriel ait ouvert cette voie à son ami. Je n’insiste pas sur ces suppositions que rien n’autorise, pas même les déférences si empressées des lettres de Manzoni. . . . Ces discussions empruntent à leur date une signification particulière. Qu’était en 1820, le romantisme en France? Victor Hugo en était encore à ses odes royalistes et ne prévoyait guère la préface de Cromwell (d’octobre 1827).”¹

We note in passing two points of detail: Manzoni did indeed know his seventeenth century, it was the period he preferred, and he knew all French literature very thoroughly.² It is exaggerating

¹ J. B. Galley, *Claude Fauriel*, Saint-Etienne, Imp. de la Loire républicaine, 1908, pp. 282/3. Galley had not the *Carteggio*, ed. Hoepli, at his disposal, but he had De Gubernatis, *Il Manzoni ed il Fauriel*, and he cites it.

² Cesare Cantù says better than Italian; *Reminiscenze*, p. 199.

to say that Shakespeare is quoted on every page of the *Lettre*, tho he is referred to more than once—and without any reserve worth mentioning. One does not see just the force of the argument (for Fauriel) that the English poet was still read in France only in the Letourneur version. It was this that Manzoni read, or at least bought, but Shakespeare had had champions in Italy earlier, and Scherillo holds that Monti inspired in Manzoni his admiration for the great unshackled one.³

Evidently Galley is following Sainte-Beuve or his followers. Sainte-Beuve is sure that Fauriel was the inspiration of the *Car-magnola* and *Adelchi*, which he calls “ce que le drame romantique a produit de plus distingué en Europe durant cette période de 1815 à 1820.” He adds that these tragedies “ne sauraient sans doute se considérer comme un appendice de l’histoire littéraire du romantisme en France sous la Restauration, mais il nous suffit que ces deux œuvres remarquables y tiennent par plusieurs de leurs racines.”⁴ This latter statement, properly construed, may be considered correct, but it was not so construed by Sainte-Beuve’s followers on this path. Marc-Monnier, in his article written just after the death of Manzoni, says of the tragedies that they

“portent leur date . . . en les lisant dans l’année où nous sommes, on s’aperçoit bien vite qu’elles remontent aux vieilles querelles entre les classiques et les novateurs. . . . Les idées venaient, il est vrai, de France, où Manzoni s’était inspiré de Mme de Staël et de Chateaubriand; Fauriel et Cousin étaient aussi pour quelque chose dans cette renaissance italienne. Les jeunes novateurs connaissaient les livres de Schlegel, et Silvio Pellico n’était pas sans relations avec Byron; mais audessus de tout cela, il y avait un besoin de retremper la littérature aux sources vives, de recommencer l’entreprise interrompue de Goldoni, qui s’était efforcé de retourner à la nature, ou du moins au naturel.”⁵

Here again the way is pointed out, but not taken.

³ *Ammiratori ed Imitatori dello Shakespeare prima del Manzoni*, Nuova Ant. Nov. 16, 1892.

⁴ *Portraits contemporains*, IV, p. 215.

⁵ Rev. Deux Mondes, July 15, 1873, p. 34 sq.—As to Goldoni, Marc-Monnier was right, he says in the dedication of the *Malcontenti* to G. Murray (ed. of 1754 only): “Per me tengo sicurissimo, che Aristotele colla sua poetica, e Orazio suo imitatore, ci abbiano recato assai più danno che utile . . . Gl’Inglese e gli Spagnuoli, sciolti si sono dall’ingiurioso legame, e seriamente pensando non essere la rappresentazione teatrale se non un’imitazione ragionevole delle azioni umane . . .

Marsan re-echoes Sainte-Beuve.⁶ Edmond Biré, among others, takes a juster view, he says of Hugo:

"Il admet l'unité d'action, mais il rejette l'unité de temps et l'unité de lieu. Il a certes raison sur ces deux points, mais il ne venait ici qu'après Guillaume Schlegel . . . après Mme. de Staël . . . après Manzoni . . . après Stendhal, enfin."⁷

Hugo nowhere acknowledges indebtedness to Manzoni. He speaks in the *Préface de Cromwell* of the "prétendue règle des deux unités" (the very words of Manzoni in the *Lettre*), and says: "Des contemporains distingués, étrangers et nationaux, ont déjà attaqué et par la pratique et par la théorie, cette loi fondamentale du code pseudo-aristotélique," and Souriau notes: "Schlegel, Manzoni dans la *Lettre à Chauvet* et dans la préface de *Carmagnola, de l'Allemagne*, et Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare*."⁸

We shall see later Manzoni's own list of authorities.

The friendship of Manzoni and Fauriel is well-known and has been told by the biographers of both, as well as by Sainte-Beuve in his *Fauriel and Manzoni*.⁹ They met in that circle of Auteuil in which Cesare Beccaria had introduced his daughter, and Donna Giulia in turn her son. The documentary evidence of the relation is to be found in the correspondence, chiefly Manzoni's letters, Fauriel's having been lost in many cases. The first in date is of February 9, 1806, and is in Italian, later Manzoni wrote in French. He had sent Fauriel a copy of his lines to Carlo Imbonati, and that poem, then the "versi sciolti," are the subjects discussed. Manzoni also thanks Fauriel for the loan of a copy of "Beccaria."¹⁰ This first, like many of the later letters, shows the admiration of Manzoni for Fauriel, an admiration which became affection. It does not show Manzoni as a disciple, the two men appear as equals.¹¹

si mantennero in libertà di dilatare l'azione al tempo necessario all'intera consumazione de' fatti storici e favolosi, e si valsero della mutazione delle scene alla loro condotta opportuna."

⁶ *Bataille romantique*, 1912.

⁷ Victor Hugo *avant 1830*, p. 431.

⁸ E. Souriau, *Préface de Cromwell*, p. 231.

⁹ *Portraits contemporains*, vol. IV. Cf. especially De Gubernatis, *Il Manzoni e il Fauriel studiati nel loro carteggio*, Roma, Barbèra, 2d ed., 1880.

¹⁰ *Opere del Manzoni*, IV, Hoepli, 1907-1921. This is the edition hereafter referred to as *op.*

¹¹ "Quello che voi dite degli sciolti, e il modello che proponete di questa

When Manzoni returns to Italy there is interchange of books, Faureil ordering for his friend quite a library (including the *Le-tourneur Shakespeare*). He also sends garden seeds—both men were keenly interested in horticulture.¹² The books sent by Manzoni are mostly of the earlier Italian period with material for the Dante course. Fauriel acknowledges in the introduction to this course his indebtedness to Manzoni. Later works on the romantic movement figure in both lists, Fauriel contemplated writing a history of the development in Italy. The correspondence is less flourishing after Manzoni's visit to France in 1819–1820, the children, particularly the eldest daughter (goddaughter of Fauriel and later wife of Massimo D'Azeglio) write oftener than their father. It ceases after 1827.¹³

The first allusion to the *Carmagnola* is of March 25, 1816.

... "J'espère terminer une tragédie que j'ai commencé (sic) avec beaucoup d'ardeur et l'espoir de faire au moins une chose neuve chez nous. J'ai mon plan, j'ai partagé mon action, j'ai versifié quelques scènes, et j'ai même préparé dans ma tête une dédicace à mon meilleur ami: croyez-vous qu'il l'acceptera? Le sujet c'est la mort de François Carmagnola: si vous voulez vous rappeler son histoire avec détail, voyez-la à la fin du huitième volume des *Républiques Italiennes* de Sismondi. . . . Elle tient un espace de six ans: c'est un fort soufflet à la règle de l'unité de temps, mais ce n'est pas vous qui en serez scandalisé. Après avoir bien lu Shakespeare, et quelque chose de ce qu'on a écrit dans ces derniers temps sur le Théâtre, et après y avoir songé, mes idées se sont bien changées sur certaines réputations. . . . Je me tais, mais si je pouvais m'entretenir avec vous là-dessus, je suis presque sûr que je n'aurais pas à réformer maniera di verseggiare, fa vedere quanto conoscete l'indole della Poesia italiana," etc.—In later letters, as those of June 4, 1822, and Aug. 1823, Manzoni urges, almost admonishes his friend to give his time to his great work (the *Histoire du Midi*).

¹² It is interesting to note the practical love of nature in various romantics. Charles Nodier studied insects; cf. Salomon, *Nodier*, p. 20. Fauriel was fond of spading (Galley, p. 119), his specialty was mosses. On the *Conciliatore*, Porro and Serristori represented agricultural interests.

¹³ Karl Witte, *Deutsches Rundschau*, Oct. 1907, argues for a rupture. Maria Nogana Albana, *L'Ultimo Soggiorno del Manzoni a Parigi, Vita e Pensiero*, n. 20, Jan. 1917, and sq., thinks there was some lack of the complete sympathy that had existed prior to Manzoni's conversion to Catholicism. The only mention of this matter in their letters is that of Sept. 21, 1810, when Manzoni tells his friend that these things are hidden from the wise and revealed to the simple.

mes idées, mais que vous me fourniriez de nouveaux et profonds raisonnements en faveur de mon opinion."¹⁴

In the following letter, of July 13, 1816:

"Ne croyez que je veuille faire la guerre aux règles pour avoir le plaisir de les combattre sans nécessité: je ne fais que les éviter quand je les trouve dans mon chemin, et qu'il me paraît qu'elles m'empêchent d'arriver ou de bien marcher. Qu'il est triste pour moi de ne pouvoir vous consulter, et combien de fois je m'efforce de deviner quel serait votre avis, si j'avais la consolation de pouvoir vous le demander! J'amasse des idées et des observations pour un long discours qui doit accompagner ma Tragédie, et celui-ci n'aurait pas moins besoin qu'elle d'être fait avec vos conseils et sous vos yeux. Je commence à croire qu'on est ici disposé à recevoir favorablement les nouveautés raisonnables en littérature: il se fait peu à peu une crise dans l'opinion à ce sujet, et il me paraît qu'on doute sans s'en douter, sur beaucoup d'opinions qu'on croyait assurées. Quoiqu'il y ait chez nous beaucoup moins d'idées vraies et étendues en circulation sur la littérature que chez vous, quoiqu'on répète tous les jours, que ce qui s'éloigne de l'antiquité ne vaut rien, qu'il y a une littérature pour chaque nation, et que les limites en sont très marquées, qu'il faut toujours marcher par le même chemin parce qu'il est le seul qui mène au beau, je crois que tous ces préjugés ne tiendraient pas contre un ouvrage qui irât par quelque autre chemin. Il me paraît qu'on est plus difficile en France."¹⁵

June 11, 1817, Manzoni writes:

"J'ai forte envie de vous parler de mes travaux littéraires, mais j'en ai aussi un peu de honte, je n'ose presque plus vous parler de ma tragédie qui est comme la bâtisse du Louvre. . . . Sachez donc que je suis dans mon deuxième acte, et que je vois que cela ira encore bien doucement. . . . J'ai aussi commencé quelques discours sur la tragédie, mais ce sont des sujets si rebattus que je n'ose presque pas vous les nommer. C'est . . . ah! vous allez vous écrier . . . c'est, oui, c'est sur les *trois unités*. Mais que voulez-vous, s'il me paraît que ma manière d'envisager cette question est neuve? . . . C'est encore sur la moralité de la tragédie. Eh bien! je me donne à croire qu'il y a des difficultés de Bossuet, de Nicole, et de Rousseau qu'on peut résoudre, qu'on n'a pas résolues, et que je résous. Je crois aussi avoir quelque chose de nouveau à dire sur les deux systèmes modernes de tragédies sur lesquels on dispute tant; mais

¹⁴ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 364.

¹⁵ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 372.

ce qui est sûr c'est que c'est malheureux pour toutes ces paperasses qu'elles ne passent pas sous vos yeux avant de paraître."¹⁶

These letters show Manzoni with his subject, his plan, his method, his opinions, with knowledge of what others were doing and thinking; he hopes to receive from his friend understanding and approval, nothing more. He was meditating a theoretical treatise (the *Preface*?), which will in any case furnish material for the *Lettre à Chauvet*, immediately called forth by the attack. We note also the readiness of Italy for "nouveau-tés raisonnables," and the "crise." It was in 1816 that Berchet wrote his *Lettera semiseria*, the manifest of the Italian movement. In 1817, Manzoni was not even as well as usual, he wished to come to Paris, in hope of amelioration as of seeing Fauriel, but was not able to arrange the journey. His interest in the controversy about romanticism in Italy does not slacken, he writes Fauriel (March 19, 1817), that he is sending him a "petit ouvrage" by a young Italian author of French extraction, saying that the pamphlet, which is the *Lettera semiseria di Grisostomo*, has made a great deal of noise in Italy and that people are preparing to refute it, which will not be easy, since Berchet has put forward and destroyed all the arguments which might have been brought up against him.¹⁷ May 23, of the same year, Manzoni asks that certain books be sent, adding to his list:

"Si vous pouvez vous en charger, je vous prie aussi d'y ajouter les ouvrages de critique et d'esthétique intéressants qui peuvent avoir paru dans ces dernières années, particulièrement s'il y en a de relatifs au romantisme, pour ou contre. . . . Pareillement s'il est sorti quelque livre intéressant sur l'agriculture depuis 1810."¹⁸

During this period of incubation of the *Carmagnola*, Manzoni published four of his *Inni Sacri* (in 1815); in a letter from Gaetano Cattaneo, of Nov. 25, we learn that it was this friend who sent the *Inni* to Goethe, whose favorable opinion of them prepared him to receive with interest the two tragedies.¹⁹

Fauriel did not reply to the letter about Berchet, and Manzoni

¹⁶ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 397. Manzoni thinks his theoretical work may excite more attention in France than his tragedy. *Op.* IV, 1, p. 398.

¹⁷ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 385.

¹⁸ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 392.

¹⁹ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 415.

asked him a second time his opinion of the work, reproaching him for a silence of two years and more.²⁰ Under date of April 28, 1819, Giulia Manzoni writes most affectionately to Fauriel, complaining of his neglect. She says that Buttura has taken him a copy of a pamphlet of Ermes Visconti's, and that now a continuation of the same matter is being forwarded.²¹ The first was undoubtedly the *Idee elementari della poesia romantica*, which appeared in the *Conciliatore*, the second the *Dialogo sulle unità drammatiche di luogo e di tempo*, which Fauriel translated and published with the tragedies of Manzoni, 1823. It appears from the letter of Manzoni, July 26, 1819, that Fauriel finally wrote and gave a favorable opinion of Berchet. Manzoni says Visconti is sending a note to explain more clearly his ideas on the movement. He adds that his own work had been interrupted for a year because of his *Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica*, which he thinks will not interest Fauriel, especially as it belongs to the melancholy genre of refutations. (It was a reply to Sismondi's attacks in the *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes*, t. 16.)

The longed-for visit to France began October 1, 1819, and ended July 25, 1820. A part of it was spent at the Maisonnnette, with Fauriel and Mme. Condorcet. The *Carmagnola* was left in the printer's hands, Berchet and Visconti attending to the censure and other details.²² Manzoni retouched "una parlata nell'atto IV di cui non è soddisfatto," as Visconti writes to Gaetano Cattaneo,²³ but there is nothing to show that Fauriel had any hand in this small change. The play was dedicated to him, without his signified consent. It saw the light of day about New Year's, 1820.

²⁰ *Op.* IV, I, p. 411.

²¹ *Op.* IV, I, p. 421.

²² *Op.* IV, I, p. 435/6. Cf. also pp. 438/9 and 443. Manzoni also thanks his uncle Giulio Beccaria, in a letter of Feb. 1820, for having occupied himself with his literary affairs. Cf. Maria Nogara Albani, *l'Ultimo Soggiorno di A. Manzoni a Parigi, Vita e Pensiero*, No. 20, Jan. 1917 and sq.

Galley says (*Fauriel*, p. 279) that the *Carmagnola* appeared in Milan at the end of 1819, and that Fauriel published a translation of it in 1820, but we find no proof for either statement. Scherillo (*Op.* III, p. 150) says the first edition was that of Vincenzo Ferraris, Milano, 1820. Galley bases his assertion on passages from the 1823 translation of the tragedies (p. 249).

²³ *Op.* IV, I, p. 438.

Silvio Pellico writes his brother Luigi, January 8, 1820, that he is sending him a copy of the "cosa divina."²⁴

The battle over it began at once. Baron Giovanni Sardagna, government official and self-styled "romantic," was a regular contributor to the Austrian-fostered *Biblioteca italiana*, altho he sent his productions to Giovanni Acerbi (editor) for corrections of syntax and orthography. He wrote his chief, January 18, 1820, to reserve a page and a half in the next number for his criticism of Manzoni's tragedy.²⁵ Visconti wrote Fauriel on the same day, as it chanced, asking him to get a review into the *Revue encyclopédique* or some similar periodical. This seems not to have been done, tho Fauriel was actively interested in the *Revue encyclopédique*.

The *Gazzetta di Genova*, n. 5, January 15, 1820, also published an adverse criticism, calling the tragedy one "ove sono apertamente violate le inviolabili leggi delle unità di luogo e di tempo; tragedia di cui eroico non è l'argomento . . . tale tragedia non può, fuor di dubbio, giudicarsi che pessima e pernicioso."²⁷ Luigi Pellico took up the gauntlet in the same *Gazetta*, n. 13, February 12, 1820, to the delight, as his brother writes him, of "tutta la nostra società. . . . Il crocchio Visconti e Berchet, che è tutto Manzoni, ha fatto girare in ogni casa di Milano il foglio di Genova."²⁸

The *Edinburg Review*, sometimes called the leader of the romantic forces,²⁹ took no notice of the Carmagnola, and the *Quarterly Review* did so only in the issue of October 20, 1820. This article says:

"The author boldly declared against the Unities. To ourselves, 'chartered libertines,' . . . little confirmation will be gained from this proselyte to our tramontane notions of dramatic liberty, we fear, however, that the Italians will require a more splendid violation of their old-established laws before they may be led to abandon them. . . . But the chorus, end Act. II, is the most noble lyric Italy of the present day has produced."³⁰

²⁴ *Op.* IV, 1, 457.

²⁵ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 458. The criticism appeared in the *Biblioteca*, t. XVII.

²⁶ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 459 sq.

²⁷ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 462.

²⁸ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 463.

²⁹ Cf. later, p. 14 for this figure of the romantic army.

³⁰ The criticism is Foscolo's but is not, as often stated, the same as the one in

Goethe, at this time the real, tho apparently unwilling chieftain of the movement, hastened to the defence of Manzoni as attacked in this article.³¹ Charles Loyson, founder of the *Lycée français*, sent Manzoni a long poem in manuscript; *L'Enthousiasme lyrique, ode à Monsieur Alexandre Manzoni*, but the most important criticism, in its effects, was that of Victor Chauvet, also in the *Lycée*.³²

Fauriel was, as with many of his projects, slow in getting out his translation of the *Carmagnola*, that of Auguste Trognon appeared in 1822.³³ Fauriel's, in the following year, contained the two tragedies, the *Lettre à M. Chauvet* and Visconti's *Dialogue sur l'Unité de Temps et de Lieu*, with Goethe's criticism of the *Carmagnola*.³⁴ There was a second printing of Trognon's translation in his *Opere* (vol. 14, p. 293, of the LeMonnier ed., 1850): *Della nuova scuola drammatica in Italia*. This contains considerations also of the *Adelchi*, and other remarks place it as of later date. "Questo vezzo di poeti storici (dissertazioni per mostrarsi fidele alla storia) è omai degenerato in abuso, in intemperanza, in mania in ogni paese, e gl'Italiani si giustificano coll' esempio de' Francesi, de' Tedeschi, e ancora più, degl'Inglese," p. 297).

³¹ *Kunst und Altertum*, III, 2n Heft, 1821. Cf. also *Klassiker und Romantiker in Italien*, 1818, in which he speaks of the then unfinished *Carmagnola*.

³² *Op.* IV, 1, p. 469.

Many of the French reviews were of the Fauriel translation, so of 1823 or later. The *Journal des Savants*, Aug. 1823, p. 477, is favorable. The *Journal des Débats* also,—it became the French romantic organ, as is shown in Musset's *Lettres de Dupuis et Cottonnet*, letter 1.

³³ He speaks in the preface to the reprint as tho he had translated the *Carmagnola* in 1821. (*Chefs-d'œuvres des Théâtres étrangers*, Paris, Rapilly, 1827, p. XVI. The first edition of the Trognon is not in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) The translator's comment on the tendencies of the tragedy (page cited) is: "Cette tragédie est composée dans le système qu'on est convenu assez mal à propos d'appeler chez nous romantisme."—He later translated the *Promessi Sposi*, abridging the story of the pest.

³⁴ *Le Comte de Carmagnola et Adelghis*, Paris, Bossange frères, 1823. Fauriel says in the preface: "C'est dans la persuasion qu'il reste encore quelque chose à dire et à faire, chez nous, pour le perfectionnement et des théories et des productions de l'art dramatique, que j'ai traduit et publié les différentes pièces qui composent ce volume. . . . Des principales pièces de ce recueil, la tragédie de *Carmagnola* est la seule qui ne soit pas nouvelle. Publiée à Milan en 1820, elle a été depuis, m'a-t-on dit, réimprimée à Londres, il en a paru une traduction française qui a été favorablement accueillie du public; enfin, elle a été examinée, louée, critiquée dans les principaux journaux littéraires d'Italie et de France, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne, et même dans les opuscules dont elle a été le sujet exprès. D'après tout cela, le sort de cette tragédie peut paraître aujourd'hui décidé: elle appartient désormais à la littérature européenne, et tout autorise à présumer qu'elle y restera." And of the *Lettre*: S'il restait . . . à découvrir, à l'appui du système

1827 and of Fauriel's in 1834. In 1848 came the translation of Antoine de Latour. That is, there were two printings of the Trognon and the first Fauriel supplying the French reading public when the *Cromwell* appeared, and the demand was great enough to warrant a new translation more than twenty years later. Trognon, in the edition of 1827, calls the *Carmagnola* the most important of the five plays which he contributed to the collection, and gives a brief biography of the author.³⁵ In addition to these French translations, there appeared in Paris a pirated Italian edition.³⁶ The success of the *Carmagnola*, as of its successor, was however a book success, neither tragedy was given more than a few times, and then in the face of opposition.³⁷ This may have been partly on account of Manzoni's peculiar timidity, he could never have organized a "first evening" à la Hugo. Goethe was desirous of having the plays staged in Germany, tho he himself translated only portions.³⁸ But it is clear that the reputation, vogue, hence influence, was great in France, greater perhaps even than in Italy, since Visconti hoped that the reception given it in France would augment the glory of his friend in his own land.³⁹

One cannot affirm that Manzoni created a school in either countries deux unités, quelques raisons plus solides que celles par lesquelles on l'a soutenu jusqu'à ce jour, les objections de M. Manzoni, outre qu'elles fourniraient de nouveaux motifs de chercher ces raisons, indiqueraient aussi de nouvelles voies pour y parvenir; et ce serait encore là un véritable service qu'elles auraient rendu à notre littérature."

³⁵ Paris, Delahaye. Lanson's bibliography mentions the first Trognon, 1822, the first Fauriel, 1823, and a Latour, 1841. The writer has found only the 1848, which may be a reprint. The translator says in his Dédicace: "Avant qu'il fût question en France d'une école nouvelle, Manzoni entra en maître expérimenté dans cette route où depuis nous avons fait tant de faux pas. . . . Le Comte de Carmagnola ne fut point représenté; on pourrait dire que dès son apparition, il eut pour spectateurs tout ce qu'il y avait en Europe d'esprits attentifs à la rénovation littéraire qui se préparait."

³⁶ Paris, Baudry, 1826. Cf. *Op.* IV, 2, pp. 216, 222. The 1830 edition of the same is noted as the seventh, increased.

³⁷ De Gubernatis, *Ricordi biografici*, Firenze, 1872, tells of the attempt to stage the *Carmagnola* in Florence, 1829. The trouble at that time and place was less than when the *Adelchi* was put on in Turin. But De Gubernatis, like Goethe, is convinced that both tragedies are "rappresentabili," if only the champions of classicism would refrain from hissing, etc.

³⁸ *Kunst und Altertum*, Biedermann, t. 29, p. 625.

³⁹ *Op.* IV, 2, pp. 96/7, letter of Aug. 10, 1823, to Fauriel. Also IV, 2, pp. 96/7.

try; J. J. Ampère wrote "une tragédie d'Adelghis sous le titre de Rosemonde, . . . qu'il composait sans doute d'après Manzoni," says Sainte-Beuve.⁴⁰ But mostly the influence must be ranked as an imponderable.

Manzoni's reply to the criticism of Chauvet was written during his visit to France and was left with Fauriel for publication. The idea seems to have been to incorporate it in Fauriel's projected history of the romantic movement in Italy. Since we have no record of their conversations, it is not possible to say exactly what Fauriel contributed to the *Lettre à M. C. (Chauvet) sur l'Unité de temps et de lieu dans la tragédie*. But the correspondence concerning it after Manzoni's return to Italy reduces his friend's rôle rather to that of procrastinator. Manzoni writes, October 17, 1820, that the reply coming so long after the attack, might perhaps better be suppressed, he does not wish to display a "rancune italienne."⁴¹ Throughout this letter, Manzoni appears as the principal, not the disciple of his older friend. Further, and more important, there is really nothing in the *Lettre* that was not, in embryo, in the correspondence of earlier date.

We do not wish to deny the merits or influence of Fauriel. He was certainly among the first in France to formulate romantic views, as is clear from his review of Mme. de Staël's *Littérature*.⁴² It is also clear that he encouraged Manzoni's advanced opinions—when he took the trouble to write him. Altho he did not explicitly and in words, he did in fact accept the dedication of the first tragedy.

If, then, the ascendancy of Fauriel is proved to have been nothing more than encouragement and sympathy (sometimes left to be divined!), what were the influences of importance in Manzoni's development at this time? Whom does he himself acknowledge? In the Preface to *Carmagnola*, Schlegel;⁴³ in the *Lettre*, Schlegel and Ernest Visconti.⁴⁴ He cites, in the latter, the example of Shake-

⁴⁰ *Nouveaux Lundis*, t. 13, ed. Lévy, 1872, p. 119.

⁴¹ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 498.

⁴² Published anonymously in the *Décade*, 10, 20, 30 prairial, an VIII. Sainte-Beuve said, before discovering the authorship, that there were at that time only three men in France who could have held such opinions, B. Constant, Ch. de Villers and Fauriel. (*Portraits cont.*, IV, p. 143.)

⁴³ *Op.* III, 1, p. 154 and again 313.

⁴⁴ *Op.* III, 1, p. 337.

speare and Goethe⁴⁵ and in a paragraph later omitted by his wish, Schiller.

"I padri suoi" are then, Schlegel and Visconti. In the notes published posthumously as *Materiali estetici*, he says: "La pratica di quest' ideale drammatico si vede portata al più alto grado in molte tragedie di Shakespeare, ed esempj notabilissimi ne sono pure le tragedie di Schiller, del signor Goethe, per non parlare che di quelle ch'io conosco.—La teoria è (non già completa, nè senza eccezione . . .) la teoria è nel *Discours des préfaces*, premesso alla traduzione di Shakespeare, negli scritti del signor Schlegel, di Mme. di Staël, del signor Sismondi, e dei tratti nuovi e luminosi se ne trovano pure in varj recentissimi scritti di nostri Italiani, principalmente negli estratti ragionati di opere drammatiche che stanno nel *Conciliatore*. . . . Ma siccome appunto gli stranieri . . . la (opinione) vanno da qualche tempo ventilando, non è possibile trattarla senza ridire cose già dette de essi. Non sapendo io medesimo scervere, astrarre, e disaccare, per così dire, le idee mie proprie su questo soggetto da quelle che possono essere ricavate o suggerite da opere anteriori, o non volendo essere nè parere plagiatario, cito a piè di pagina quelle di queste opere che io ho lette." And he quotes: "Shakespeare traduit de l'anglais, t. I, *Discours des Préfaces*, p. C e seg. *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe* par J. C. L. Sismonde de Sismondi; t. III, p. 462 e seg. *De l'Allemagne*, par Mme. la Baronne de Staël-Holstein, t. II, p. 7 e seg. *Cours de Littérature dramatique* par A. W. Schlegel, traduit de l'allemand; t. II, p. 86 e seg."⁴⁶ He says in the preface to *Carmagnola*: "Mi studierò per altro di fare piuttosto una picciola appendice, che una ripetizione degli scritti che le (unità) hanno già combattute."⁴⁷

To consider these authorities or forerunners: Auguste Wilhelm Schlegel was among the most widely recognized Romantics of the period. He carried into other lands the influence of Winckelmann, Lessing and Goethe, but in addition to these he was influenced by Mme. de Staël, and to a degree which it is not easy to measure. As Manzoni mentions both in his notes, it is convenient to consider them together. Brunetière affirms that his countrywoman was the main inspiration of Schlegel, also of Sismondi.⁴⁸ Her own posi-

⁴⁵ *Op.* III, I, p. 336.

⁴⁶ *Op.* III, I, pp. 389 and 414.

⁴⁷ *Op.* III, I, p. 154.

⁴⁸ *Histoire litt.*, p. 76, sq. Mme. de Staël's influence is undoubtedly pervasive, Stendhal properly calls her salon "les états généraux de l'opinion européenne."

tion was clear in 1800, when she published *De la littérature considérées dans ses rapports avec les constitutions sociales*.⁴⁹ From March 1804, when Schlegel, on the recommendation of Goethe, became tutor to her son, the two were separated only during the period of Schlegel's exile, in 1814. When Mme. de Staël went to Italy, 1804, Schlegel and Sismondi followed, and in Rome they all frequented the house of Humboldt.⁵⁰

Corinne (1807) is distinctly romantic. In December of the same year Mme. de Staël and Schlegel went to Germany, and in Vienna, after Carnaval 1808, he gave, before a select audience of about three hundred persons, his famous *Course on Dramatic Literature*.⁵¹ The work was translated into French by Mme. de Staël's cousin, Mme. Necker de Saussure, in 1814. It was this version (Appendice to *Rome, Naples et Florence*, ed. 1817, fragment of July 6.) Her article on translations, which stirred up great strife in Italy, appeared in the first number of the *Biblioteca italiana*, 1816, which was eager to attach to itself the most prominent writers of the day. Ludovico di Breme defended her, first in the *Biblioteca*, then in his *Discorso intorno all'ingiustizia di alcuni giudizi letterari italiani*. Cf. Muoni, *Ludovico di Breme e le prime polemiche attorno a Mme. de Staël*.

Sismondi's *Littérature du midi de l'Europe* was given in lectures in Geneva, in 1811, printed in 1813.

⁴⁹ Vinet holds that this work is the prospectus of romanticism, altho it suffered from its appearance at the same moment as the *Génie du Christianisme*. (*Etudes sur la litt. française au XIXe*, p. 54.) And Guizot: "Trois puissances littéraires (je ne parle pas des savants ni des philosophes qui ont brillé durant l'empire et exercé sur les écrivains et sur le public une influence féconde): le *Journal des Débats*, M. de Chateaubriand et Mme. de Staël." (*Preface à Corneille et son temps*, p. III, IV.)

Stendhal, inimical to Mme. de Staël, says "l'on peut croire qu'elle a fait son livre (*l'Allemagne*) sur des analyses fournies par M. Schlegel." (*Correspondance*, ed. Lévy, Paris, 1855, t. I, p. 79.)

⁵⁰ Cf. Blennerhassett, *Mme. de Staël et son temps*, t. III, ch. 2. Her closest friendship at this time was with Monti, she knew the Marquis di Breme, one of the founders of the Conciliatore. Her acquaintance with Manzoni was slight, if indeed she knew him at all. She learned to appreciate Italy during this visit at the termination of which, June 22, 1805, she exclaimed: "Vegno di loco ove tornar disio."

⁵¹ It had been preceded by his study of the *Two Phaedras*, in which is seen the influence of Mme. de Staël. He had seen her in the rôle of Racine's heroine. On the other hand, her chapter on the drama in *l'Allemagne* exposes Schlegel's views. This work was first published in Chaumont, during her temporary return to France, March, 1810, but was condemned by the censor and the printing destroyed. The next was in England, 1813. Her great influence in her own country dates from this edition.

that Manzoni knew. Around this work rallied the Romantics, the war was on.

Charles Nodier reviewed the *Cours* in the *Journal de l'Empire*, March 4, 1814. He defines "classiques" as a

"collection de Règles tirées des chefs-d'œuvres de tous les modèles et sous lesquelles peuvent être rangées tous les exemples du beau.

. . . Qu'est-ce donc que le romantique . . . qu'un beau qui n'est pas classique et qui ne peut pas l'être? . . . Un des grands arguments que l'on puisse opposer aux règles, est tiré de la perfectibilité de notre nature." Nevertheless he holds "le genre romantique une invention fausse. Quant aux poètes qu'on a rangés dans cette catégorie, ils n'y appartiennent que par leurs fautes."

In the same *Journal*, March 11, 1814, is a review (by Y) of Sismondi's *Littérature du midi*. The author says that people had wanted freedom and novelty and that ideas of the sort were vaguely discussed at the beginning of the century, but

"le nouveau système n'avoit pas encore pris sous la plume d'une dame célèbre, et sous une autre plume non moins illustre et brillante ce caractère précis et déterminé qu'il vient d'acquiescer dans les traités de MM. Sismondi et Schlegel. . . Ils ont franchi un grand espace; ils sont arrivés à ce point où une question capable d'exciter de violents débats . . . paroît dans tout son jour."

And after an analysis of Sismondi's exposition of Aristotle's theory:

"La littérature classique est un parti, Boileau, Horace, Aristote, sont des chefs de parti. Qu'est-ce que le romantisme?"

In the continuation of the article:

"Ainsi donc, par les manifestes réunis, positifs, bien et dûment libellés, de MM. Schlegel et Sismondi, voilà la guerre civile décidément allumée dans tous les Etats d'Apollon! Les bannières, sur lesquelles sont écrits des devises différentes: les noms d'Aristote, de Quintilien, de Cicéron, d'Horace, de Boileau, se lisent sur les étendards des classiques; les drapeaux des romantiques ne portent le nom l'aucun législateur; on n'y voit briller que ces mots: *Ossian*, *Shakespeare*, *Kotzebue*, *Genre Rêveur*, *abolition des Unités Dramatiques*, *mépris de tout art poétique*, *nullité de goût*: de quel côté penchera la victoire? le monde est dans l'attente."

This seems to be the first of the descriptions of the two parties as armies, Stendhal later elaborated it, in *Shakespeare et Racine*.

As we know from his correspondence, Manzoni was informed of the discussion going on in France. As to the importance of Schlegel, the English took a different view. The *Edinburg Review* finds nothing new or revolutionary in the work.⁵²

The reviewer thinks that Schlegel made a good distinction of the romantic from the classic, in that the latter describes things as interesting in themselves, the former dwells more on the association of ideas with the things. For instance, the mythology of the Greeks was material and definite, the Christian religion is essentially spiritual and abstract. So the romantics naturally turn to it.

Stendhal was not mentioned by Manzoni as in any way influencing him, and he could scarcely have done so, as his direct contribution to the movement, *Racine et Shakespeare*, was published in Paris in 1823. It was during the stay in Milan which began in 1815 that he became so identified with the city (or so he imagined) that he wished to have himself labeled "Milanese" on his tombstone. He would have been more nearly right had he inscribed what he later called himself, "passager sur le vaisseau."⁵³ But he was a friend of the Conciliatori, especially of Silvio Pellico, this fact was the cause of his expulsion from Milan by the Austrians, in 1821. He was a romantic in conviction, at least for some years, rather of the English type, but at the same time he held, and propagated in Paris after his return, many of the ideas of the Milan group. He was certainly an influence in France, and with Hugo.⁵⁴ He throws a

⁵² The article begins with some amusing general criticism of German literary criticism. "This work is German; and is to be received with the allowances which that school of literature generally requires. With these, however, it will be found a good work; and as we should be sorry to begin our account of it with an unmeaning sneer, we will explain at once what appears to us to be the weak side of German literature. In all that they do, it is evident that they are much more influenced by a desire of distinction than by an impulse of the imagination, or the consciousness of extraordinary qualifications. They write, not because they are full of a subject, but because they think it a subject upon which, with due pains and labour, something striking may be written. So they read and meditate.—and having, at length, devised some strange and paradoxical view of the matter, they set about establishing it with all their might and main. . . . Though they have dug deeply in the mine of knowledge, they have too often confounded the dross and the ore, and counted their gains rather by their weight than their quality. . . . We should not have made these remarks, if the work before us had formed an absolute exception to them."

(Review of English translation of Schlegel's Course, John Black, translator Baldwin, 1815. *Edinburg Review*, Oct. 26, 1816.)

⁵³ *Stendhal e la letteratura italiana*, A. Giglio, Milan, Hoepli, 1921, p. 74.

⁵⁴ Giglio, *op. cit.*, pp. 85/6. This work is authoritative on the subject. Sainte-Beuve also testifies that Stendhal did much to destroy the French prejudices of

good many side-lights on the movement, as on the political situation in Italy. He was convinced that freedom and unity must come before the real Risorgimento.⁵⁵ He greatly admired Beccaria,⁵⁶ concerning whom he got a good deal of first-hand information, but he never fully appreciated Manzoni: "J'ai vu de loin M. Manzoni, jeune homme fort dévot, qui dispute à lord Byron l'honneur d'être le plus grand poète lyrique parmi les vivants. Il a fait deux ou trois odes qui me touchent profondément."⁵⁷ He esteemed less highly the two tragedies, tho admitting the *Adelchi* as next in excellence after Pellico's *Francesca da Rimini*.⁵⁸ He had early admired Schlegel, whom he knew in Vienna, and whose *Cours*, in Mme. de Saussure's translation, he read and annotated during the period from 1814 to 1821, but later he turned against him, as against Mme. de Staël.

Ernes Visconti cannot be disassociated from his fellow-Conciliari, his rôle in the group may be compared to that of Du Bellay in the Pléiade. He was not with Porro, Pellico, Berchet, Borsieri and Breme at the inception of the sheet, but the latter announced his adhesion in words that need no comment: "Pecchio e Visconti si sono aggiunti al drappello, e sono, s'è possibile, più accaloriti di noi."⁵⁹

The "foglio azzurro" did not proclaim itself the organ of a revolution; Pellico wrote to Foscolo, "l'intitolammo così perchè ci proponiamo di conciliare, e conciliamo infatti tutti i sinceri amatori del vero."⁶⁰ Borsieri gave as their motto: "Patria, perfettibilità, incivilimento."⁶¹ Of these three words, the first best characterizes the group; the list of contributors⁶² shows the political color, not 1820 and revealed to him, as to many of his generation, the beauties of Italian literature. (*Causeries de lundi*, IX, p. 321.)

⁵⁵ *Rome, Naples et Florence*, Lévy, Paris, 1865, pp. 9/10.

⁵⁶ "Les philosophes dignes d'être élèves de Socrate (ce n'est pas qu'ils fussent rhéteurs comme Platon), Verri, Beccaria et Parini." (*Rome, Naples et Florence*, p. 65.)

⁵⁷ *Rome, Naples et Florence*, p. 98. Cf. also letter to De Mareste, 1819.

⁵⁸ Giglio, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 and 111.

⁵⁹ Quoted after Cesare Cantù, *Il Conciliatore e i Carbonari*, Milano, Treves, 1868, p. 59. The letter is of Nov. 15, 1818, that is, only a little more than two months after the formation of the group.

⁶⁰ *Epistolario*, ed. Stefani, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1856, p. 16.

⁶¹ *Il Conciliatore*, n. 32, p. 120.

⁶² They were: Porro, Pellico, Di Breme, Confaloniere, Berchet, Girolamo

all were carbonari, but so many that Cantù conveniently treated of them all together in his well-known work. The Austrian government was not slow on the scent, the first accusation, which came from Rome to Cardinal Consalvi, secretary of state, was that

"a Milano erasi formata una società detta Romantica, collo scopo di insegnare che l'uomo non è soggetto ad alcun principio di religione e di morale; molti signori esservi ascritti, e nominatamente il celebre Pellegrino Rossi, il quale è in relazione con lord Byron. Questo Byron venne a Bologna per impiantarvi tale setta."⁶³

It would seem at the first glance that no truth could dwell in such a hodge-podge, but that keen observer, Stendhal, wrote to his friend the "Baron de N," almost at this moment: "Vous vous moquiez de moi quand je vous disais que le romantisme était la queue du libéralisme; il fait dire: examinons et méprisons l'ancien."⁶⁴

The governor of Milan replied that the circle was a purely literary one, but spying and censoring continued until the periodical ceased to appear, its decease being coincident with the arrest of Pellico.⁶⁵

The romanticism of the group was, considering the movement in Latin countries, early in date. As Cantù says. "Basta dire che il tentativo italiano precorse Lamartine e Hugo: e fu contemporaneo de Koerner e di Goethe, il quale pronunziò il Romanticismo essere un genere morboso, eccetto in Manzoni."⁶⁶

Manzoni was correct in writing to Fauriel that all numbers of the *Conciliatore* were of the utmost importance for the comprehension of the movement in Italy. He sent him, with the numbers containing the principal articles on the subject, a synopsis of the

Pripò, P. Ressi, Romagnosi, G. B. Cristoforis, Rasori, Giuseppe and Luigi Pecchio, Porsieni, Visconti, Camillo Ugoni, Vantini, Sismondi, Serristori and Ridolfi. (Cantù, *op. cit.*, pp. 93/4.)

⁶³ Cantù, *op. cit.*, pp. 89/90.

⁶⁴ *Correspondance*, Lévy, Paris, 1855, I, p. 144.

⁶⁵ There were in all 118 numbers, appearing between Sept. 3, 1818 and Oct. 17, 1819. Visconti announced the disappearance of the periodical to Manzoni, then in Paris. The *Revue encyclopédique*, last number of 1820, contains an article by Sismondi on Breme and the *Conciliatore*.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 27. Cf. also really all that has been written in Italian on the subject, as Mazzoni's *Ottocento*, Finzi, F. De Sanctis, *Scritti varj inediti*, ed. B. Croce, t. 1: G. A. Borgese, *Storia delle critica romantica in Italia*, Milano, 1920, etc. Also Victor Wailie, *le Romantisme de Manzoni*, Alger, Fontana, 1890.

whole, having previously sent Berchet's *Lettera semiseria*⁶⁷ and the first pamphlet of Visconti—probably the *Idee elementari della poesia romantica*, since the *Dialogo sulle unità drammatiche* is following.⁶⁸ Fauriel was much impressed by the ideas of Visconti. In incorporating the *Dialogo* in his translation of Manzoni's tragedies, he says that it first appeared in the *Conciliatore* (January 24 and 28, 1819) and "y faisait du bruit. C'est à ma connaissance, le premier écrit publié, en italien, dans l'intention expresse de prouver que les règles sur l'unité de temps et de lieu, dans les compositions dramatiques, sont purement arbitraires, et plus désavantageuses qu'utiles."⁶⁹ Since the Fauriel translations were evidently much read in France, Visconti must also be reckoned as one of the foreign writers on the subject, known to Hugo.

Fauriel and Visconti exchanged a number of letters, found in the Manzoni *Carteggio*, and to these have recently been added others found among the Fauriel papers preserved in the Institut de France. In one, which Gallavresi thinks was a letter sent, not to Fauriel but to Manzoni during his visit of 1819 and 1820, Visconti replies to a request to define romanticism, and after dismissing as inaccurate or inadequate the definitions of Mme. de Staël, Schlegel, Bouterweck and "altri oltramontani," he says that romantic are "non sole le poesie che gli antichi non potevano pensare perchè mancava loro quello sviluppo dell'animo che vi è richiesto, ma anche quelle che essi non potevano eseguire perchè a loro ne mancavano i materiali esteriori," e.g. the history of America. This, which seems sufficiently evident, was at the time an additional clarification. He adds that it was Milan that tabooed mythology.⁷⁰

In Italy, as in France, the roots of this matter must be sought far back, as well as far afield, but we are not considering here the roots, rather the moment of the flowering, in the *Carmagnola*.

⁶⁷ The books recommended by Grisostomo to his son are of interest. They are the works of Vico, Burke, Bouterweck, Lessing, Schiller, Mme de Staël and Schlegel.

⁶⁸ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 497. It is clear from this, the first letter after their separation, that Fauriel had consulted Manzoni in regard to his projected history of romanticism in Italy, and that Manzoni is the authority.

⁶⁹ Preface to the Tragedies, pp. II, III.

⁷⁰ Cf. Manzoni's *Lettera sul Romanticismo*. There were however others who condemned the use of mythology.

The period, as the place are differentiated by the word of Borsieri: *Patria*. This special urge prevented the servile imitation of English or German writers, and, combined with a predominance of *reason*, the exaggerations, the mania for the grotesque seen elsewhere. The oppressor knew this vaguely, as we have seen, the Italians both then and later knew it better; the romantic school drew their thoughts to a time when Italy was, comparatively, united and free, most of all forward to a real unification and freedom. Nicolini wrote to Ugoni: "Il *Conciliatore* non dee considerarsi come semplicemente romantico, ma nazionale, è una sacra favilla, che sorge tra la notte e il gelo della nostra patria, e non deve assolutamente morire."⁷¹

Marc-Monnier, in calling the *Conciliatore* "une sorte de *Muse française*,"⁷² means, of course, that the two periodicals had a similar rôle in the two countries, the *Muse* was of later date (1823-1824). The *Conciliatore* has been properly regarded, both by its founders and by later investigators, as a continuation of the *Caffè*. The editors, in their *Programma* to the first number say: "Quando Addison (sic) e Steele, quando Verri e Beccaria, quando Heeren e Bouterweck, La Harpe e Ginguené fecero dono di ottimi giornali all' Inghilterra, all' Italia, alla Germania ed alla Francia, noi stimiamo che ben meritassero non solo della repubblica letteraria, ma della sociale pur anco," and their intention is the same. In number 91, "i due estensori, Grisostomo e P." publish what purports to be an unpublished manuscript of the *Caffè*, and in number 49 is a review of Adeodato Rossi's *Orazione in lode del conte Pietro Verri*, in which the author (Ludovico di Breme), urges that Verri and Beccaria be given the glory they deserve, their names should be on the lips of every mother of a family.⁷³ Camillo Ugoni, himself a conciliatore, wrote in his literary history of the period that their organ was "similissimo a quello (il *Caffè*) negli estensori e nello scopo."⁷⁴

⁷¹ Cantù, *Conciliatore e Carbonari*, p. 243.

⁷² *Rev. Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1873, p. 366.

⁷³ The files consulted, both of *il Conciliatore* and *il Caffè*, were those of the Biblioteca nazionale di Florence.

⁷⁴ *Letteratura italiana della seconda metà del secolo XVIII*, t. II, pp. 132/3.—Among later investigators should be mentioned Pier Angelo Menzio, *Dal Conciliatore*, Unione Tip. 1919, and Piergili, *Il Foglio azzurro e i primi Romantici*, Nuova Ant., Sept. 1, 1886.

Pellico wrote Ugo Foscolo, September 9, 1818: "Siamo associati all' *Edenburg Review*,"⁷⁵ and later that they are to have "per fautori nell' estero la Staël, Schlegel, Sismondi e Ginguené."

The *Conciliatore* was not unknown in France, Stendhal writes his Parisian correspondent, December 11, 1818: "Lisez-vous le *Conciliatore*? Non, car, 1: il est bête 2: il est libéral. Cependant, s'il paraît chez Galagnani, lisez, dans les six derniers numéros, des articles signés E. V. (Visconti). C'est sur le romantisme."⁷⁶ The term "local color" so beloved of the French romantics of 1827, seems to have been invented by Berchet: "tinte locali," *Sulla Saccontala*, number 53 of the *Conciliatore*.

As to the progenitors of the *Caffè*, Villemain's claim of French influence and the kindly encouragement of Count Firmian, has been refuted by all the Italian students. The model was certainly Addison's *Spectator*, as is evident in their opening article, number 1: "Qual fine vi ha fatto nascere un tal progetto? Il fine d'una aggredevole occupazione per noi, il fine di far quel bene che possiamo alla nostra Patria, il fine di spargere delle utili cognizioni fra i nostri Cittadini divertendoli, come già altrove fecero e Steele, e Swift, e Addison e Pope ed altri." The title comes from the fact that the sheet was "nato in una bottega di Caffè."

So the *Conciliatore* may be called the "nipote" of our *Spectator*.⁷⁷ Manzoni did not become an avowed member of the group

⁷⁵ *Epistolario*, ed. Le Monnier, Firenze, 1856, p. 14.

⁷⁶ *Correspondance*, Lévy, Paris, 1855, t. I, p. 101.

⁷⁷ "Che l'arte vostra quella, quanto puote,
Segue, come 'l maestro fa il discente,

Si che vostra arte a Dio quasi è nipote." (*Inferno*, XI, 103 sq.)

—Ugoni and Cantù are not so near the *Caffè* as the *Conciliatore*, but their opinion is still of value. Ugoni says: "Non è picciola gloria per Milano che dal suo seno sia uscito il *Caffè* e mezzo secolo dopo il giornale letterario il *Conciliatore*, due collezioni de' quali, negli estensori, nello scopo, nella riputazione offeriscono più conformità." (*Letteratura*, t. II, p. 132/3.) And Cantù: The youths who formed the *Caffè* "si proponevano di combattere la tirannia de' pedanti, e far l'importante e onorato mestiere di letterato si spogli di quel restante d'impostura, di frode, di logoro, che pur tuttavia ha il suo partito, benchè assai minore di quello che coltiva in pace e in buona fede i vasti campi dell'umano sapere." (*Beccaria e Dei Delitti*, Firenze, 1862, p. 21.) Stendhal, *Correspondance*, ed. cit., t. I, p. 223: "Il y eut à Milan, vers 1880, une nichée de philosophes. Ils furent remarquables parce qu'ils osèrent penser par eux-mêmes. L'Europe doit Beccaria à cette école. Le comte Verri était son ami intime; ils publièrent ensemble un journal dont le

of Conciliatori, perhaps from a constitutional aversion to disputes, especially literary.⁷⁸ But he calls Di Breme, Berchet, Borsieri, Porro, Pellico and Visconti his "compagnons de souffrance littéraire,"⁷⁹ and he was, in fact, what Pio Ferrier has called him: "capo invisibile del drappello."⁸⁰ It was Pellico who asked, in the *Conciliatore* of October 27, 1818, if the French system was the best for drama, Manzoni replied, both with the *Carmagnola* and in the theoretical expositions which accompanied and followed it. Pellico felt it necessary, in giving other rectifications to F. Cruger, who was compiling an article for Brockhaus' Encyclopedia, to state: *Il Conte di Carmagnola* di Manzoni non trasse punto influenza nè relazione dal giornale il Conciliatore; sono cose separate sebbene di scrittori amici."⁸¹

The theoretical writings have been spoken of, with the exception of the *Lettera sul Romanticismo*, which comes later, even after the *Adelchi*, in 1823, and was not printed until 1846. But Cesare Tapparelli D'Azeglio, to whom it was written, privately passed it about, so that it was well known before it was published.

In this letter, Manzoni especially condemns mythology as "vera idolatria." He says, justly, that the word "romantic" has a differ-

Spectateur, d'Addison fut le modèle; le journal milanais s'appela le *Café*. Comme le soleil est plus chaud et la prudence plus faible à Milan qu'à Londres, il y a plus de passion et plus de gaieté dans le *Café* que dans le *Spectateur*."

Stendhal had first-hand information about the school, as about Beccaria. (Cf. *Rome, Naples et Florence*, ed. Lévy, 1865, p. 76.)

Cf. also L. Ferrari, *Del Caffè, periodico milanese del secolo XVIII*, Pisa, 1899; and E. Bouvy, *Le Conte Pietro Verri, ses idées et son temps*. Paris, 1889.

Suard's *Gazette Littéraire* regularly translated the best articles of the *Caffè*.

⁷⁸ He writes to Luigi Fratti of Reggio, who wished to combat the censure of the *Inni Sacri*: "Egli è in me antico proposito, e antica consuetudine, lo star fuori affatto di ogni disputa di letteratura italiana, per mite e urbana che possa essere; e non solo starne fuori, ma ignorarla." (*Op.* IV, 2, p. 592.) And to Giuseppe Bianchetti, who had sent him a pamphlet of his own, tho thanking him prettily: "Non ho letto, nè son per leggere, l'articolo intorno ai romanzi storici . . . e questo per un mio proposito di non leggere nulla, che risguardi controversie della letteratura italiana." (*Op.* IV, 2, p. 654.)

⁷⁹ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 512.

⁸⁰ *Alcune Notizie Autobiografiche, Epistolario*, Le Monnier, Firenze, 1856, p. 466.

⁸¹ *Scritti Postumi del Manzoni*, ed. Sforza, Milano, 1900, p. 40, p. 54, p. 74, p. 86.

ent meaning in each country, in Italy even in each province, in each city. But

"in Milano, dove s'è parlato più, e più a lungo che altrove, la parola *romanticismo*, se pure non m'inganno, è stata adoperata a rappresentare un complesso d'idee più ragionevole, più ordinato, più generale che nessun altro al quale sia stata applicata le stessa denominazione. . . . Intorno alle regole in generale. . . . Ogni regola, per esser ricevuta da uomini debbe avere la sua ragione nella natura della mente umana. . . . Il principio, di necessità tanto più indeterminato, quanto più esteso, mi sembra esser questo: Che la poesia, e la letteratura in genere debba proporsi l'utile per iscopo, il vero per soggetto, e l'interessante per mezzo. . . . In tutta la guerra del romanticismo, non è dunque morta che la parola."⁸¹

Unconsciously, but perhaps for that very reason more fully and justly, Manzoni has acknowledged another debt:

"Mi accade spesso, leggendo opere letterarie, precettive, o polemiche, anteriori al sistema romantico, di abbattere in idee molto ragionevoli, ma indipendenti della dottrina generale del libro idee volanti, per dire così, le quali, nel sistema romantico, sono collocate razionalmente, e vi sono divenute stabili e feconde."⁸²

Undoubtedly there were sown in his mind seeds borne by many winds and which had passed over many lands. But there was one which was not a passing breeze, which was the atmosphere of his daily life: Alessandro Manzoni was born the grandson of Cesare Beccaria, he grew up surrounded, guided by the glory of that name, it was that name which introduced him into intellectual circles in France, it was that name that he signed in youth.⁸³

He was only nine years old when his grandfather died, and he seems to have seen him but once,⁸⁴ but his mother, Cesare Beccaria's daughter, was a member of his immediate household from the death

⁸¹ *Scritti Postumi del Manzoni*, ed. Sforza, Milano, 1900, 40, 54, 74, 86.

⁸² *Lettera sul Romanticismo*, *Scritti Postumi del Manzoni*, ed. Sforza, p. 68.

⁸³ He wished to sign his first verses of importance, those to Carlo Imbonati, Alessandro Manzoni Beccaria (*Op.* IV, 1, pp. 33-37, letter of March 12, 1806). He tells in this same letter to Pagani of dining with Le Brun, who presented him a work of his, writing in it: "A M. Beccaria. C'est un nom trop honorable pour ne pas saisir l'occasion de le porter. Je veux que le nom de Le Brun choque avec celui de Beccaria." Manzoni signs this letter: "Il tuo Manzoni Beccaria."

⁸⁴ His childish recollections of this meeting, sweetened by the chocolates his grandfather gave him, are told in Cristoforo Fabris' *Memorie manzoniane*, pp. 50 and 96.

of Carlo Imbonati; it was she who presented him to his grandfather's friends and admirers. The portrait of Beccaria occupied the most conspicuous place in the Manzoni drawing room and was especially mentioned in his will, as going, with other portraits not so singled out, to his favorite and eldest son, whose death he mourned in his own last days.⁸⁵

The contemporary Charles Didier testifies: "Manzoni a poussé le culte de son aïeul jusqu'à hériter de ses inimitiés littéraires et privées, et parce que Parini n'aimait ni Verri ni Beccaria. . . . Manzoni ne fait nul cas de Parini."⁸⁶

Arturo Graf has indicated some points of resemblance between grandfather and grandson:

"Beccaria ebbe mente di novatore, e come disse Pietro Verri, testa fatta per tentare strade nuove; una testa dunque come l'ebbe il Manzoni, egli seppe conciliare il rigore e la saldezza della ragione con la libertà e la fluidità dell'immaginativo e del sentimento. Il Beccaria fu profondo algebrista, ed ebbe fantasia vivacissima e prepotente, e fu poeta (buon poeta, assicura l'amico).⁸⁷ Scopriamo nell'avo una vena satirica che ingrossa poi nel nipote. Tutt'e due sono d'indole timida e casalinga, involta in una onesta pigritia: curano i proprii comodi; lascian vedere un'aria di bonomia . . . sono inettissimi alle faccende . . . scrivono di malissima voglia lettere e ogni altra cosa. . . . Entrambi non potevano reggere a star soli, ed entrambi stavano mal volentieri in luoghi dove fossero adunati molta gente. Entrambi ebbero amore alla villa. Rimasti vedovi, entrambi si riammogliarono.⁸⁸ L'avo disegnò di fare un confronto fra romanzi e storie, e il nipote compose il discorso sopra

⁸⁵ Policarpo Petrocchi, *Prima giovinezza di A. Manzoni*, p. 101.

It will be remembered that the little book, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, was immediately hailed as a new Evangel, was translated into all European languages, and won for its author the highest honors, also an offer from Catherine of Russia (which Beccaria, wiser than Descartes, used only in order to obtain a professorship in his native Milan): it was put on the Index, which in those revolutionary days increased its glory, and it shortly moved Leopold II of Tuscany to abolish the death penalty. It was the Calas affair which aroused Beccaria and Verri—another thread going back to France.

Beccaria proposed the decimal system to the government of Milan in 1780, but the scheme was refused, largely for financial reasons. Cantù, *Beccaria*, p. 142.

⁸⁶ *Poetes et Romanciers de l'Italie, I, Manzoni*, Rev. Deux Mondes, Sept. 1834, p. 575.

⁸⁷ The perusal of bits incorporated in his correspondence rather inclines the writer to differ from Beccaria's friend.

⁸⁸ The grandfather in less than three months!

il romanzo storico. L'avo si meravigliava che la Colonna Infame fosse lasciata sussistere nel bel mezzo di Milano; il nipote scrisse la Storia della Colonna Infame."⁸⁰

Graf makes these comparisons in a foot-note and does not pursue the subject further. More important points than several of those mentioned are: the French influences experienced by both men in youth; their interest in two periodicals so similar in scope as the *Caffè* and *Conciliatore* (and related to each other much as were the men), and their attitude towards rules, one might almost say, towards romanticism.

The direct allusions of Manzoni to Beccaria are not numerous, they may be gleaned mostly from the *Opere inedite e rare*, edited by Bonghi. There are two rather lengthy defences of Beccaria's position on points connected with political economy,⁸⁰ and a briefer but more interesting comment on Marmontel, *Elémens de Littérature*. Marmontel says: "*Diffus. Ce mot exprime un défaut du style, et le défaut contraire à la précision. Prolixe est le contraire de Pressé,*" etc., etc. And Manzoni: "Per tutte queste definizioni di stile, vedi *Dello Stile* di Beccaria."⁸¹

Cristoforo Fabris in his *Memoire manzoniane* gives an imaginary *Serata in Casa Manzoni*, in which Manzoni tells the story of the composition of the *Delitti e Pene*. He says that he has made up this conversation from bits which he had heard and remembered.⁸² This would seem to prove that Manzoni liked to talk about his grandfather. That his thoughts had a trend towards Beccaria and his school is evident in the choice of subject and incidents of the *Promessi Sposi*, and the *Storia della Colonna Infame* is based on Pietro Verri *Osservazioni sulla tortura*. It is interesting, in this connection, to remember that it was Verri who urged, if he did not inspire, the writing of the treatise *Dei delitti e delle pene*.⁸³

⁸⁰ Graf, *Foscolo, Manzoni, Leopardi*, Torino, 1914, ch. *il Romanticismo del Manzoni*, pp. 159/60.

⁸⁰ *Opere inedite e rare*, II, pp. 138/9, 144.

⁸¹ *Id.*, p. 421.

⁸² *Memorie manzoniane*, pp. 96/7.

⁸³ Verri was the benefactor, the nearest friend, later the bitter enemy of Beccaria. Cf. Camillo Ugoni, *Letteratura italiana della seconda metà del secolo XVIII*, chapters on the two men, also that on A. Verri: Bouvy, *Le comte P. Verri, ses idées et son temps*; also Lomenaco, *Vita degli eccellenti Italiani*, 1803, vol. III, Beccaria.

One Italian investigator, Alessandro Paoli, has touched upon this point. He says:

"Dagli scritti del Verri tolse il Manzoni l'argomento e la materia del suo romanzo, dall' esempio e dalle opere del Beccaria apprese che lo scrivere con efficacia è l'effetto del retto sentire."

He thinks also that Manzoni's determinism is derived from that of the school of the *Caffè*.

"Questa idea delle attinenze causali tra gli avvenimenti umani gli è venuta su dà suoi studj, ed è frutto di quella cultura a cui dapprima si era formato negli esempi famigliari il suo animo, e della quale primo e più efficace promotore in Lombardia era stato P. Verri."⁹⁴

But beyond all this rather general and diffused influence, it seems to the writer that a special one may be alleged, flowing from a special work and inspiring certain doctrines, or at least contributing greatly to their development. It is evident that the *Ricerche sullo Stile* is most akin to the thought and work of Manzoni, but no comparison has ever been made between the two.

The idea of the *Ricerche* came to Beccaria during a stay in Paris,⁹⁵ and the first brief article was published in *Il Caffè*, I, n. 25, under the title of *Frammento sullo stile*. In this form it was translated, like various articles of the periodical, and published in the *Gazette littéraire*.⁹⁶ In 1770, the article was expanded and published under its full title.⁹⁷ It is a work of real importance, which has been obscured by the labors and reputation of its author in another field. It is primarily a call to *reason*, an attempt to find out and show *why* certain things give pleasure to the mind, there are portions which remind one of Herbert Spencer's essay on the same subject.

Beccaria names in his introduction Condillac and others who "hanno incominciato a ricercar nelle facoltà nostre, nella nostra maniera d'intendere e di sentire, l'origine e le leggi del buongusto, leggi così invariabili come le possa essere l'umana natura,"⁹⁸ il ben

⁹⁴ P. Verri e il Manzoni, *Nuova Ant.*, 1895, p. 672, sq. Paoli holds that the ideas of the *Delitti e pene* were mostly those of Verri, Montesquieu and Helvetius. Voltaire also contributing something, and the great merit of Beccaria was his style.

⁹⁵ Cesare Landry, *Cesare Beccaria, Scritti e lettere inediti*, Milano, 1910, p. 77.

⁹⁶ T. VIII, 2.

⁹⁷ Milano, Galeazzo, 1770.

sapere, cioè il ben sentire le quali, è la più prossima e la più sicura disposizione alla perfetta esecuzione di quelle." . . . There are rules "che, ben lungi di elevare e spingere gl'ingegni, ne circo-scrivevano troppo servilmente i confini, e ne rallentavano il libero impeto e la originale energia."⁹⁸ Queste regole non erano per lo più che il ridurre a canoni generali le bellezze già combinate dai maestri dell' arte, quando piuttosto dovevano essere osservazioni pure generali sulla maniera con cui essi le avevano combinate,¹⁰⁰ e mentre queste si dovevano cavare dal fondo del nostro cuore,¹⁰¹ ricercando a qual combinazioni d'idee, d'immagini, di sentimenti e di sensazioni egli si scuota e si irriteri, ed a'qual resti inerte e stupidamento indifferente, si sono piuttosto volute rinvenire nel proporre solamente una parte di queste combinazioni già da' gran maestri esaurite come modello di tutte le altre, senza ricercare ed indicare ciò che tanto varie e disparate maniere di dilettere, che l'esperienza ci additava, potessero avere di comune per produrre sugli animi degli spettatori quel sempre medesimo fremito intorno di piacere soavissimo ed insaziabile. Ecco ciò che ho tentato di fare intorno allo Stile."¹⁰²

If he cannot do all this, he still has the confident hope of "essere riuscito di poter avviare gl' ingegni degli Italiani, che sono stati i maestri e gli esecutori delle belle arti di Europa, a considerarne la filosofia, onde gli innocenti et incolpabili piaceri dell' intelletto divengano un oggetto di scienza e d'istituzione, come formanti un non disprezzabile diramazione dell' utilità comune, ed ancora della virtù

⁹⁸ "Intorno alle regole in generale, ecco quali furono . . . le principali proposizioni romantiche. Ogni regola, per esser ricevuta da uomini, debbe avere la sua ragione nella natura della mente umana." *Lettera sul Romanticismo*, ed. Sforza, p. 54. "Poichè ogni legge che non risulti dalla natura stessa dell' arte, che non sia richiesta dalla costituzione del soggetto, altererà necessariamente l'organizzazione del soggetto medesimo." *Materiali estetici*, Op. III, p. 402.

⁹⁹ "Des génies du premier ordre ont travaillé dans ce système: admirons-les doublement d'avoir su produire de si rares beautés au milieu de tant d'entraves. . . . Les faux événements ont produit en partie les faux sentiments, et ceux-ci, à force d'être répétés, ont fini par être réduits en maximes. C'est ainsi que s'est formé ce code de morale théâtrale, opposé si souvent au bon sens et à la morale véritable." Op. III, p. 360.

¹⁰⁰ The early part of the preface to *Carmagnola* repeats this doctrine, as does the *Lettre à Chauvet*, Op. III, p. 371: "C'est de la pratique qu'on les (= règles) a toujours prises."

¹⁰¹ "Je suis plus que jamais de votre avis sur la poésie: il faut qu'elle soit tirée du fond du cœur." Op. IV, I, p. 309.—It is singular that Manzoni calls it Fauriel's opinion, but both had been reading Beccaria!

¹⁰² Quoted from Silvestri's ed. *Ricerche*, Milano, 1809, pp. IX, X.

umana, che dal sentimento prende l'origine sua, i suoi motivi e i suoi precetti." ¹⁰³

Such words as these excited the admiration of Mme. de Staël, and added support to her doctrine of "l'utilité"—not hers alone, of course. In the *Littérature*, in which she already shows a preference for the productions of the North (which she as yet knew but slightly) ¹⁰⁴ and a feeling that amounts almost to contempt for Italy, she specifically excepts Beccaria with a very few others, as having "l'utilité pour but, ce qui est nécessaire pour donner aux pensées une force réelle." ¹⁰⁵

Manzoni was also an upholder of the doctrine of the "useful": L'arte prammatica si trova presso tutti i popoli civilizzati: essa è considerata da alcuni come un mezzo potente di miglioramento, da altri come un mezzo potente di corruttela, da nessuna come una cosa indifferente. . . . Queste ultime riflessioni conducono a una questione più volte discussa, ora quasi dimenticata, ma credo tutt'altro che sciolta ed è: se la poesia drammatica sia utile o dannosa." ¹⁰⁶ And in the *Lettera sul Romanticismo*: "La parte morale dei classici è essenzialmente falsa . . . ora la parte morale . . . è la più importante. . . . Il principio, di necessità tanto più determinato, quanto più esteso, mi sembra poter esser questo: Che la poesia, e la letteratura in genere debba proporsi l'utile per iscopo, il vero per soggetto, e l'interessante per mezzo." ¹⁰⁷

As we have seen, in the letter inaugurating his correspondence with Fauriel, Manzoni indicates that he is reading "Beccaria." Fauriel also, since Manzoni asks if he will be inconvenienced by loaning him the book. Towards the close of the *Lettre à Chauvet* he uses a comparison the significance of which has escaped the observation of critics. In admitting that the innovators have not yet gained the public suffrage he says: L'erreur ne se laisse nulle part,

¹⁰³ Id., pp. XIII, XIV.

¹⁰⁴ In 1800 she was studying German "avec résignation," as she writes Meister. (*Correspondance avec Meister*, p. 168.)

¹⁰⁵ *De la littérature*, p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ *Op.* III, p. 106 (Preface to *Carmagnola*).

¹⁰⁷ *Scritti Postumi*, ed. Sforza, p. 20. Bonghi, *Op. inedite e rare*, p. X, quotes an English traveler, whose book containing the interview with Manzoni was printed privately, as "half in earnest, avowing it to be his creed that as society became more enlightened, it could tolerate no such thing as literature considered merely as a work of art." The writer has been unable to trace this book.

et dans aucun genre, détruire en un jour. La torture a duré longtemps après l'immortel traité des délits et des peines."

Thus we have the two evidences, at the beginning and at the end of this phase of his work, that the memory of his grandfather's work was always in the background of Manzoni's mental life. Only the two Italian writers cited have made reference to this influence; Saint-Beuve and his school have wished to find the approach to Manzoni thru Fauriel. The threads are twined and intertwinéd, we no longer get the single red cord which leads to the secret bower, but in this case the one that underlies the others may yet be distinguished. We cannot say that Manzoni, grandson of a man who had made no literary contribution would not have done so himself, but we may surely say that it would not have been quite the same contribution.

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DEUX POEMES DE PEYRE CATHALA

V.—BERTRAN DEL POGET

(Continued from page 227)

CONTENTONS-NOUS donc de ce qui nous intéresse directement dans le cadre étroit où nous place l'étude d'un poème de Peyre Cathala. Dans ce cadre, ce que nous savons de Guillem Auger nous suffit amplement. Il est évident que Guillem reçut le poème de son admirateur vers 1236, au moment où il était victorieux et où son triomphe était consacré par le retour du Venaissin à ses aspirations d'indépendance et à son seigneur légitime, c'est-à-dire, à Raimon VII.

Cette conclusion est confirmée par la carrière de Bertran del Poget dont il faut dire un mot. Bertran a bien trouvé un biographe dont les quelques lignes nous sont parvenues. Mais ce biographe ne nous apprend qu'une chose, c'est que le troubadour était "un noble châtelain de Provence, de Puget-Théniers" *us gentils castellans de Proensa, de Teunes*. Il ajoute qu'il fat "vaillant chevalier, généreux, bon guerrier, et qu'il composa de bonnes chansons et de bons sirventés." Ces derniers renseignements sont bien vagues, et pas mal de troubadours, entre autres Garin d'Apchier, se sont vu décerner des éloges presque semblables. Mais la mention de *Guillem Augier* dans un de ses sirventés le place, à côté de Peyre Cathala, au nombre des protégés ou des compagnons d'armes de ce seigneur du Venaissin. Le mot *lai*, qu'il emploie en envoyant son sirventés à Guillem prend un sens précis. Le poème, s'il est parti de Puget-Théniers, a dû traverser presque toute la Provence, de l'est à l'ouest, pour parvenir à son adresse. Et ce poème est de la même date que celui de Cathala, c'est-à-dire de 1230-1236, puisque Bertran trace de Guillem Augier un portrait presque littéralement semblable à celui de son confrère, sans qu'on puisse pourtant parler d'imitation. Or, cette date de 1230-1236 est lumineusement confirmée par l'histoire. Bertran del Poget paraît, en effet, deux fois dans les chartes de la Provence.

(1222)—La première fois, en septembre 1222, il est à Brignolles, aux côtés du comte de Provence, Raimon Bérenger IV (1209-1245), son suzerain. Le comte accorde divers privilèges aux familles nobles de la ville, mais obtient, en échange, le consulat que ces nobles familles exerçaient dans la petite cité. (Papon, *Histoire de Provence*, III, p. 540 et preuves, p. viii.) Bertran donne son assentiment à cette combinaison; il est mandaté, pour cela par le comte lui-même et semble faire partie de sa cour: "Ut omnia prodicta fideliter attendantur, nos, R[aimundus] Berengarius, comes Provinciae, hoc juramus, et mandato nostro, D[omi]na Lombarda (Beatrix de Savoie, femme du comte), Raimundus Gaucelini, *Bertrandus de Pugeto*, Albeta et Guillelmus de Cottiniaco." Parmi les nobles de Brignolles qui renoncent à leur consulat se trouve un *Raimundus Augerius*. Est-il parent de Guillem? La parenté expliquerait les relations poétiques de Guillem et de Bertran.

Cette chartre, connue depuis le XVIII^e siècle, n'avait pourtant pas été signalée jusqu'ici par les provençalistes. Il est vrai qu'elle peut laisser quelques doutes sur l'identification de *Bertrandus de Pugeto*. Les localités du nom de Puget étaient assez nombreuses en Provence, et justement celle de Puget-Ville (canton de Cuers) était à quatre ou cinq lieues de Brignolles, tandis que Puget-Théniers en était quatre ou cinq fois plus éloigné.

(1227)—Mais l'identification est sûre, néanmoins, parce que Puget-Ville n'a jamais eu de seigneurs particuliers. D'ailleurs, une seconde chartre, qui est du 24 juillet 1227, enlève tous les doutes possibles. Cette seconde chartre est rédigée à Grasse dans les mêmes conditions que la première. La ville de Grasse, comme celle de Brignolles cinq ans auparavant, renonce à son consulat, dont elle était pourtant très jalouse, en faveur du comte de Provence, et en échange d'importantes franchises (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. iij). Il semble que l'acte de Brignolles n'avait été qu'une pâle préface hésitante de celui de Grasse. A Brignolles, en effet, les garants étaient peu nombreux, et, à part Guillaume de Cottignac, qui était ministre du comte, de noblesse secondaire et obscure. A Grasse, les plus hauts seigneurs de la province s'associent à l'acte du souverain; en tête se trouvent l'illustre Blacatz, le modèle des chevaliers, et le fougueux Boniface de Castellane; "Actum Grassae,

in podio-juxta ecclesiam ante canonicam. Blacassii, Bonifacius de Castellana, Guillelmus de Signâ de Evenâ, Fulco de Pontevès, Ferandus de Toramenâ, Auselmus Bertrandus de Misano, Audebertus de Sclapono, *Bertrandus de Pugeto*, Guillelmus de Mosteriis”

Guillem Augier n'y est pas, et son absence serait difficilement explicable s'il était de Grasse comme le voudrait Nostredame. En tout cas, nous n'avons plus à hésiter sur l'identification de Bertran del Poget. Cette fois, le Puget le plus voisin et celui qui a un seigneur *Bertrandus* est bien Puget-Théniers.

Mais Grasse n'avait renoncé à son consulat que pour être relevée d'une excommunication prononcée par l'Eglise et pour ne pas se mettre en révolte ouverte contre l'empereur, qui, par un édit du mois d'octobre précédent (Papon, II, p. 1), daté de Fogia (Pouille), avait supprimé tous les consulats de Provence. Cette politique de l'empereur et du comte était simplement insensée. Elle continua bien, l'année suivante, par la soumission de Nice, où deux partis se déchiraient; elle échoua, nous l'avons vu, à Marseille, qui se donna au comte de Toulouse, et attira à elle Tarascon, puis l'héroïque Avignon.

(1230)—Raimon Bérenger faillit aller à sa propre ruine et perdre tout son comté. La noblesse, jalouse, ayant à sa tête toute la puissante maison du Baus, se révolta en ne céda plus tard (1233) que devant l'intervention et les concessions de l'empereur. Or, cette révolte doit être signalée ici. Il est visible, en effet, que Bertran del Poget, que nous avons vu applaudir, ou au moins souscrire à la politique du comte à Brignolles en 1222, et à Grasse, en 1227, passa, en 1230, dans le camp opposé. Le fait est absolument certain, puisque, dans son sirventès, Bertan félicite Guillem Augier d'avoir *sobratz et vencutz els enemics*, d'avoir ainsi acquis tout mérite (*on pretz s'es clutz*), et d'être “ franc et affectionné pour ses amis.” Nous savons maintenant quels sont ces amis et ces ennemis: les amis sont autour du comte de Toulouse, à Tarascon et à Marseille; les ennemis sont autour du Comte de Provence et de l'Eglise, dans l'aristocratique ville d'Arles.

Ainsi, le poème de Bertran del Poget est bien postérieur à 1230, et il est raisonnable de le placer vers 1235-1236, au moment où les victoires de Guillem Augier sont encore récentes, mais où pourtant,

à cause de sa haute situation de chancelier du Venaissin, Augier peut être *larcx et adregs ses vilaniä*, "dépenser et donner tout ce qu'il a sans regret" (*semblan dolen*), quoiqu'il ne soit pas fort riche (*tant pauc matria*). Adopter une date postérieure, par exemple, celle de 1265 que propose Papon (Hist. de Provence, III, pp. 444-445), serait dangereux; non seulement le sens des poèmes s'y opposerait, mais, puisque les chartes où Bertrandus de Pugeto est nommé sont de 1222 et de 1227, il ne faut pas s'éloigner de ces dates mêmes plus que les textes ne le permettent.

VI.—PEYRE CATHALA RESTE UN INCONNU

Et voilà aussi l'époque et la date où florissait Peyre Cathala. Celui-ci, malheureusement, ne nous a pas laissé clairement son nom dans les chartes. Il y eut sûrement une famille Cathalan à Toulouse et Chabaneau a vraisemblablement raison quand il suppose (*Biographies*, index) que le troubadour *Arnaud Catalan*, qui chanta du temps de Raimon VI, après 1204, était un de ses membres. Mais *Peyre*, qui envoie ses poèmes à Guillem Auger en Venaissin, ne semble pas être de la même ligne. Un petit détail le rejeterait même sur les rives de la Méditerranée. Aux vers 31-32 du premier poème, Peyre Cathala se révèle lui-même amoureux de la pêche maritime. "Il veut faire, dit-il, comme le bon pêcheur, qui attend patiemment jusqu'à ce qu'il retire des poissons de la mer." Ce ne sont pas seulement les pêcheurs maritimes qui sont des modèles de patience. Les pêcheurs de nos rivières ont, au moins aujourd'hui, une patience beaucoup plus légendaire. Il est donc probable que si Peyre Cathala n'a pas songé à la patience des pêcheurs de la Garonne, mais bien à celle des pêcheurs de Marseille, c'est qu'il voyait à l'œuvre ces derniers pêcheurs. Le détail est de très minime importance, sans doute, d'autant plus que le poète peut avoir puisé cette comparaison, comme d'autres, dans des poèmes ou récits antérieurs, mais il me semble, malgré tout, avoir son prix dans la circonstance, parce que le nom de *Cathala* ou *Catalan* est si commun dans les chartes qu'on le trouve dans toutes les régions du Midi. Il est particulièrement fréquent dans les parages de Narbonne et de Béziers, mais on le retrouve à Arles, à Marseille. Il sera même porté, au quinzième siècle, par un prince de Morroco. Je n'ai pas

besoin de rappeler que Mila y Fontanals voulait qu'il fût le privilège exclusif de la Catalogne, et M. Massó Torrents signale dans la *Bibliografia*, des Luiz Cathala qui ont été poètes à Valence ou à Barcelone au XIV^e siècle.

A l'époque de Guillem Auger, en 1228, je trouve un *G. Catalanus* parmi les conseillers de la ville d'Arles. Le 18 octobre de cette année-là, en effet, Arles s'allie contre Marseille à Raimon Bérenger (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. lv); le conseil de la ville, de concert avec l'archevêque et le podestat, scelle l'alliance, et la charte se termine par ces mots: "Haec sunt nomina consiliarium communis Arelatensis, Petrus Hugo. . ." Après cinquante-quatre noms, vient, cinquante-cinquième sur quatre-vingt cinq, *G. Catalanus*. Il est difficile de deviner dans quel ordre ont été inscrite ces nombreux conseillers. S'ils l'ont été par rang d'âge, on peut donner, au plus quarante ans à G. Catalan, et cet âge se concilierait très bien avec celui d'un poète qui, quelques années après se mettrait en relations avec Guillem Auger. G. Catalan ne serait certainement pas ce poète, mais un de ses frères ou de ses parents pourrait l'être. Il est vrai que la politique paraît s'y opposer, puisque Arles et Guillem Auger sont dans des camps ennemis. L'objection n'est forte: Arles se révoltera bientôt contre son archevêque, le chassera de ses murs, après avoir usurpé sur lui (Papon, II, preuves, p. ixxvij) pas mal de privilèges, entre autres, celui de nommer ses consuls. Et Arles était sur la mer ou s'y croyait sincèrement à cause de sa flotte, qui parcourait encore la Méditerranée: c'est ce qui la faisait la rivale de Marseille et l'alliée de Gênes.

Je ne serais donc pas surpris si l'on découvrait un jour que Peyre Cathala était un arlésien, ou au moins un provençal de bonne souche comme les poèmes semblent le demander. Peyre Cathala, en effet, n'est pas loin de Guillem Auger quand il écrit. Contrairement à Bertran del Poget, qui envoie son chant "au loin" (*lai*) il semble être près de lui et le voir:

N'enaure y lo sire Guillem Auger
Que fa honor e valor on que sia.

Il le trouve entouré de chevaliers parfaits (*affinats*) et le voit "tenir haut son rang parmi les plus grands." Ce titre de *sire* qu'il lui décerne, au lieu de celui de *senher*, est aussi un mot rare qu'on

a d'abord, semble-t-il employé en Provence. Raynouard ne le signale que dans P. Cardinal, et dans deux poèmes où il est question de la France: *Qui es trachers ni fals sera mayestre e sire*. Il s'agit des terres de Gui II d'Auvergne que vient d'envahir Gui de Dampierre, seigneur (*sire*) de Bourbon, *Esser cyre d'anjous ni de Tors*. (*Lexique roman*, V, p. 202). Or, la dernière expression a été écrite par Cardinal à Marseille.

Cependant, il ne m'échappe pas que, du moment que Guillem Auger est un capitaine au service de Raimon VII, il peut être célébré par un compagnon de ce comte venu avec lui en Provence ou en Venaissin. Raimon VII, selon l'usage, s'était fait escorter par une foule de seigneurs, même du plus haut rang, des jurisconsultes et même des poètes. Dans l'assemblée qui lui donna Marseille, le 7 novembre 1230, je remarque les noms du comte de Radez et d'Olivier de Thermes, puis ceux de Pons Astoaudi et de Pierre Martin, jurisconsultes, enfin celui de Petrus de Podio (alias *Peire* [Cardinal] *del Poi*?).

Ainsi, Peyre Cathala peut être venu en Provence avec le comte et y demeurer quelque temps ou même s'y fixer. Or, parmi les chevaliers qui ont dû être enchantés des succès de Raimon VII, on peut ranger un *Petrus Cathalani*, vassal et compagnon de Guillaume de Pierrepertuse, vicomte de Fenouillet, au sud du Carcassès, sur les confins du Roussillon. Ces deux seigneurs avaient dû subir le joug de Simon de Montfort en 1217 (D. Vaissète, VIII, col. 257), et Guillaume de Pierrepertuse avait même été nommé sénéchal de Carcassonne par l'envahisseur. Mais dès 1226, les choses avaient changé et Guillaume de Pierrepertuse était rentré dans le giron des siens. Dépouillé par Louis VIII il revenait dans ses terres et, en 1242, il prêtera hommage à son seigneur légitime, le vicomte de Narbonne, qui soutiendra énergiquement Raimon VII dans sa révolte contre la France. Or, parmi les témoins de cet hommage, se trouve de nouveau un chevalier *Cathalan* (Roger) qui est vraisemblablement de la famille de celui de 1217. (D. Vaissète, VIII, col. 414-415.)

Ainsi, un chevalier du Fenouillet, appelle réellement *Peyre Cathala* est attesté en 1217. Il suffirait qu'il fût jeune à cette époque et qu'il eût accompagné Raimon VII en Provence treize ans après pour

qu'on pût se demander s'il n'était point notre poète. Il lui manquerait la naissance sur le bord de la mer ; mais le Fenouillet n'est pas loin de la côte méditerranéenne.

VII.—REMARQUES D'ORDRE LITTÉRAIRE

Passons à quelques remarques littéraires que comportent les deux poèmes de Peyre Cathala. Ces remarques confirmeront d'abord l'impression favorable que la première pièce avait produite à M. Anglade. Elles confirmeront ensuite les dates que nous avons établies, et rangeront le nouveau troubadour dans une école singulière, un instant féconde, et à laquelle Peire Cardinal, qui était alors à Marseille, n'est pas resté étranger.

M. Anglade, nous l'avons vu, a regretté que la premier poème ne soit pas de Peire Vidal, parce qu'il "est d'un vrai poète." Pour justifier ce jugement, il énumère les comparaisons que la pièce contient :

"On remarquera le nombre inusité de comparaisons qui apparaissent dans cette pièce : l'homme insouciant (str. I), le cygne (str. II), l'alouette, (*ibid.*), la calandre (str. III), la roue du moulin (*ibid.*), le bon pêcheur (*ibid.*), le basilic (str. IV), le soleil (*ibid.*), le soldat vainqueur (str V), le Christ pardonnant au larron (str. V), les laboureurs (*ibid.*) ; en tout onze comparaisons. Il y a là un artifice de style qui paraît avoir été mis à la mode par Rigaud de Barbézieux et ses imitateurs ; mais même chez le troubadour saintongeais, on ne trouve pas, dans la même pièce, une pareille abondance."

Je n'ajouterai rien qu'un trait à cette appréciation flatteuse et si exacte. Peyre Cathala n'est pas seulement un disciple abondant et adroit de Rigaud de Barbézieux. Il s'est aussi inspiré de Peyrol :

Atressi co'l signes fai
 Quan dey murir, chan.
 Quar sai que plus gen murrai,
 Et ab mens d'afan.
 Qu'Amors m'a tengut en sos latz,
 E maynts trebalhs n'ai sufertatz ;
 Mas pe'l mal qu'aoras m'en ve,
 Conose qu'ancmai non amiey re.
 (Leçon de Raynouard, *Choir*, III, 271, *cobla* I.)

"Comme fait le cygne,—quand je dois mourir, je chante:—car je sais que je mourrai plus noblement—et avec moins d'angoisse,—puisque Amour m'a tenu dans ses lacs—et j'en ai souffert maints tourments.—Mais, par le mal qui maintenant m'en vient,—je connais que jamais je n'ai rien aimé."

M. Anglade rappelle ensuite que la légende de la calandre se trouve dans un *bestiaire* provençal: "Si'l calandri porta hom denan I malaute et hom lo geta sul lieg, e lo calandri gara lo malaute en la cara, senhal es de guerir; e si'l gira la coa, es senhal de mort." (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.* 3e édit. page 202.) "Si l'un porte la calandre devant un malade, et qu'on la jette sur le lit, si la calandre regarde le malade au visage, c'est signe de guérison; mais si elle lui tourne la queue, c'est présage de mort."

M. Anglade ne dit rien de la légende, plus extravagante, du basilic, dont le regard tuait, mais un contemporain de Peyre Cathala, Aymeric de Péguilhan, la répète d'une manière fort heureuse:

Co'l basilisc qu'ab joy s'anet aucir
Quant el miral se remiret e's vi . . .

"Comme le basilic qui, avec joie, alla se teur—quand il se vit et se contempla dans le miroir. . ."

M. Anglade remarque enfin que le poème est absolument original dans la construction de la cobla: "Le campas de cette pièce est assez rare, et Maus (*Peire Cardenals Strophensbau*, no. 553) n'en cite que trois exemples, dont aucun, d'ailleurs, n'est exactement le même que celui-ci. L'aube religieuse de Guilhem d'Autpoul est la pièce qui s'en rapproche le plus; seulement elle est en *coblas unissonans*, tandis que notre chanson est en *coblas capeudadas*."

Le second poème fait autant d'honneur à Peyre Cathala que le premier. Sans doute il est écrit dans un genre précieux et recherche des recontres de mots que nous réprouvons, mais nous verrons à quelle influence venue de très haut il a obéi. Et, ce défaut mis à part, la pièce est d'une inspiration des plus élevées et des plus franches. Chaque strophe peint un sentiment délicat. Dans la première, le poète est heureux de se consumer lentement aux feux de l'amour, parce qu'il brûle pour la plus aimable des femmes (*la gencer*). Dans la seconde, il accepte avec résignation, sinon avec joie, la prison où sa dame l'a enfermé. Dans la troisième il bénit

les premiers témoignages d'amour qu'il reçoit, parce qu'ils lui dictent des chants d'allégresse. A la quatrième, il proclame l'excellence de la servitude et de l'espérance en amour, et se fait gloire de ne pas réclamer de rançon. Dans la cinquième, en nouveau disciple heureux de Peyrol, il sent que le secret pour être aimé, c'est d'aimer profondément soi-même, et que l'amor vrai rend aimables jusqu'aux orgeueilleux. Enfin, à la sixième, le chevalier ainsi rendu parfait par l'amour et le mérite qu'il demande, s'incarne délicatement dans ce *Guillem Auger* dont nous connaissons la carrière et dont le poète trace, en neuf vers, un portrait achevé.

Et cette admirable et savante progression est rendue sensible et claire par de fins des strophes toutes bien frappées dans des vers limpides, ou dans des comparaisons qui, comme celle des *joueurs*, à la *cobla II*, font une image qui se prolonge doucement dans l'esprit et prend soudain pour nous la vie, la force et la couleur d'un tableau de Watteau ou même de Rembrandt.

Et cette ascension hâletante vers *Pretz* et *Valor* est celle d'une âme haute et saine, très optimiste que nous n'attendions pas dans les heures troublées et tristes où a vécu le poète. Bertran del Poget arrive, comme Peyre Cathala, à tracer de Guillem Augier un portrait frappant et admirable, mais par un chemin tout différent : tandis que Cathala voit son héros entouré d'émules au milieu desquels il se distingue comme une "fleur même de la Chevalerie," sans les humilier, Bertrand maudit l'avarice et la lâcheté des autres seigneurs, et ne décerne le prix de la valeur à son héros qu'en affirmant qu'il ne s'en trouve plus ailleurs. Guillem Augier n'est pas le meilleur parmi des brillants chevaliers : il est l'unique baron en qui le mérite a trouvé un dernier refuge (*on pretz s'es clutz*).

A l'élévation morale et à l'art de résumer un développement dans un vers final, simple, sonore et clair, se joint encore la rareté de la strophe. Cette strophe de neuf vers de dix syllabes n'est pourtant pas unique comme celle du premier poème. Mais elle paraît avoir eu une vogue restreinte à la région de la Provence propre et de Montpellier, et ne se trouve guère dans les poèmes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles avant l'époque où nous sommes arrivés. On la découvre d'abord dans Gaucelm Faidit : *Tant ai sufert longamen gran afan* (Raynouard, *Choir*, III, 288) et dans Pons de la Garda : *D'un sirventes a far ai gran talen* (Raynouard, *Choir*, IV, 278) ; puis on

la voit reparaître dans Cardinal, mais verse 1245-1250, c'est-à-dire après le chant de Cathala: *Totz lo mons es vestitz et abrazatz*; et dès lors elle se répand même dans la tenson. Il faut signaler en 1253; le débat que nous reverrons plus loin d'En Engles avec un inconnu, puis celui que En Guillem et En Peire eurent à Montpelier vers 1272 sur des troubles de cette ville (P. Meyer, *Derniers Troubadours de la Provence*). Cependant, dans tous ces poèmes, les *coblas* sont *unissonans*, tandis que Peyre Cathala, chantant une sorte de *descort*, ne se sert des mêmes rimes que pendant deux strophes et les change ainsi trois fois dans le poème.

Mais le style nous paraît aujourd'hui insensé. Cathala recherche, même au détriment de la clarté, des rapprochements de mots commençant par la même lettre ou appartenant à la même famille: *E si fos forts, morts moren. . . . Per qu'es vida viven, vius m'accouart*, etc.

Ce style, qui nous paraît une folie, et qui heureusement est assez rare dans la poésie provençale, venait d'infecter la poésie de la langue d'oïl avec Gautier de Coincy (1177-1236). Or, l'œuvre immense de Gautier se répandit avec une rapidité foudroyante dans les écoles de toute la chrétienté: vers 1245-1250, Bertran Carbonel, n'osant pas désigner par son nom l'archidiacre de Marseille qu'il attaquait avec violence, et qui s'appelait *Pons I. Coinssi*, eut recours aux initiales P.I.C. et affirma qu'il n'y avait pas un écolier (*latinier*), non seulement à Paris, mais même à Pavie et à Gaète (Salerno) qui ne sût interpréter ce règle et y retrouver, par conséquent, le nom de *Coinssi*, c'est-à-dire l'homonyme de Gautier de Coincy.

Or, voici quelques vers, d'ailleurs bien connus, du moine de Saint Médard de Soissons; ils suffisent pour caractériser sa manière. Le poète, en commençant le récit des *Miracles Nostre Dame*, entonne son prologue par un chant lyrique:

Pour la Pucelle en chantant me deport
 Qui tous despors et toute joie apporte.
 Mont se deporta en deportant deport
 En li porter honneur qui se deporta.
 Ne peut venir n'arriver a droit port
 Qui ne la sert et honeur ne li porte;
 Car c'est li pons et la planche et la porte
 De paradis ou sont tuit li deport.

.....

En tes sains flans le Roi des rois portas;
En tes daus flans tous depors aportas.
Tu aportas la deportant portée
Qui au monde a toute joie aportée.

Histoire littéraire de la France, t. xix, p. 845.

Voici encore quelques vers de lui tirés de *Sainte Leocade*:

En chardonai doçor n'a point,
Que chardonax com chardon point . . .
Si chardonai tot eschardonnent . . .
Chardonai sont en chardon né.

Ibid., t. xvi, p. 226.

Or, on croirait que ces jeux de mots naïfs excitèrent dès leur apparition, l'émulation du troubadour Peire Cardinal, qui s'appelait justement *Chardonai*. Celui-ci, avec sa fougue ordinaire, introduisit une *cobla* plus insensée encore que celles de Gautier dans un de ses sirventés contre les troubadours qui célébraient l'amour d'une manière conventionnelle et factice. C'est la *cobla* V du chant :
Ar mi puese ieu lanzar d'amor:

V Pauc pretz prim prec de prezador.
 Quant cre qu'el cuya convertir,
 Vir vos vil voler sa valor,
 Don Dreitz deu dar dan al partir.
 Si sec son sen salvatge,
 Seu l'es lo larcx laus lagz lunhatz.
 Pus pretz lauzables que lauzatz.
 Trop ten estreg ostage
 Dreitz drutz del dart d'amor nafraz
 Pus pauc pretz pus pretz es compratz.

Je traduis cette fantaisie d'un grand poète, mais comme je la comprend, et sans en garantir le sens, parce que la *cobla* est un vrai logogriphe, et je soupçonne Cardinal de s'être moqué de ses auditeurs:

Je prise peu la prière subtile d'un suppliant
Quand il croit qu'il peut convertir (obtenir ce qu'il demande)
Il transforme sa valeur en insolence,
D'où il est juste qu'il en supporte la peine à la fin.
S'il a suivi son tempérament sauvage,

La louange généreuse s'est vite éloignée (de sa prière)
 Je prise plus ceux qui méritent des éloges que ceux qui les reçoivent.
 Il se tient dans un domaine trop étroit
 L'amant loyal blessé par le dard de l'amour.
 Je prise d'autant moins le mérite que ce mérite est acheté.

Nous ne savons pas quelle est la date où parut ce singulier pamphlet; il est probablement de la jeunesse de Cardinal, c'est-à-dire des toutes premières années du XIII^e siècle (1200-1204).

Mais vingt ans après, en 1224, le spirituel satirique revint à la charge dans un poème où il ridiculisa la cour de Savaric du Mauléon, sénéchal du Poitou pour le jeune Henri III d'Angleterre. Savaric n'opposait pas une résistance sérieuse aux entreprises du fils du roi de France, le futur Louis VIII, qui avait envahi le pays de Chouars (en Gâtine), et Cardinal lui disait crûment qu'il manquait de loyauté, puis ajoutait:

II Cort cug qu'ieu sai qu'es corta de largueza,
 Ab cortz servirs, ab cortz dos, ab cortz bes,
 Ab cort' amor et ab corta franqueza,
 Ab cortz perdos et ab cortas merces;
 Cortz es ab corta cortezia,
 Et ab corta douça paria;
 E, quar son cort li joy e li plazer
 Per aquo deu lo nom de cort aver.

III Mas ieu quier cort que's descort ab cruzeza,
 E que s'acort ab tatz fis faitz cortes,
 E qu'en plan pueg pueg per fina proeza,
 E, quant que cost, so sia son conques.
 E cort de mil amicx amia,
 On fals ni fragz non afadia,
 Cort on s'acort la valors ab voler,
 E'l gaug ab dreg, e'l donar ab dever.

V Que fan l'enfan d'aquella gen engleza
 Qu'avan non van guerreyar ab Frances?
 Mal antalan de la terr' engolmeza:
 Tiran iran conquistar Gastines!
 Ben sai que lai, en Normandia,
 Dechai e chai lur senhoria,

Quar los guarzos vezon en patz sezer :

Anctos es tos que trop pert per tener.

(Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, t. I, p. 451.)

- II Je crois qu'une cour que je connais est courte de largesse,
Avec de courts services, de courts dons et de courts biens,
Avec un amour court et une courte liberté,
Avec de courts pardons et une courte merci.
C'est une cour de courte courtoisie,
Et de courte douce pairie.
Et, puisque les joies et les plaisirs y sont courts,
Elle doit bien avoir pour cela le nom de cour.
- III Mais moi, je réclame une cour qui s'éloigne de grossièreté,
Qui s'accorde avec toutes les actions délicats et courtoises,
Et qui s'élève, par pure prouesse, sur une pente douce,
De façon que, quoi qu'il en coûte, je sois conquis par elle.
Une cour qui soit l'amie de milliers d'amis,
Où ni traître ni criminel ne vous répugne,
Une cour où la valeur s'accorde avec le vouloir,
Les joies avec le droit, et la générosité avec le devoir.
- V Que font les enfants de cette nation anglaise
Qui ne vont pas en avant guerroyer contre les Français ?
Ils ont peu de souci de la terre angoumoise ;
Ils iront avec peine conquérir le Gâtinais (vicomte de Chou-
ars)
Je sais bien que là-bas, en Normandie,
Déchoit et tombe leur seigneurie,
Car on voit les jeunes guerriers assis en paix :
Digne de honte est l'enfant (Henri III) qui, par avarice,
perd trop (de ses terres).

On le voit, Cathala était bien excusable de tomber dans un genre de langage que n'avait pas dédaigné le plus grand des poètes du temps. Et Cardinal était depuis quelques années (1226) à Marseille même où tous les troubadours l'entouraient avec déférence et se formaient à son école. Il est visible que Cathala fut un de ses disciples. Il ne fut pas le seul : Guillem Fabre, de Narbonne, subit l'influence. On la sent même dans le beau chant *Pus dels majors*

princeps auzem contem, qui est calqué sur le cantique magnifique et très clair de Cardinal: *Caritatz es en tant bel estamen*.

Le poème de Guillem Fabre est de 1245-1258, et non de 1265, comme l'a supposé M. Anglade dans *Deux troubadours narbonnais* (Narbonne, 1905), et Hugues de Saint-Circ, que l'on ne fait guère écrire que jusqu'en 1256, s'en moqua aussitôt. (A. Jeanroy et Salverda de Grave, *Les Poésies d'Uc de Saint-Circ*, pièce xxviii.)

Le goût des jeux de mots n'avait pas encore disparu en 1253. Cette année-là, un certain Engles tensonne avec un poète inconnu. La tenson nous est parvenue mutilée; mais P. Meyer l'a néanmoins publiée dans les *Derniers troubadours de la Provence*. Elle est, d'ailleurs, due à des gens sérieux. L'un des interlocuteurs revient de la cour du roi de Navarre, Thibault Ier, et manifeste l'intention de se rendre auprès de Jaime Ier, roi d'Aragon. Or, ce poème est construit, comme celui de Cathala, sur une *cobla* de neuf vers de dix syllables (voir la *cobla* II, qui est complète) c'est-à-dire a sensiblement le même rythme: et enfin, pour plus de ressemblance encore, contient une strophe où se retrouvent les jeux de Cardinal sur le mot *cort*:

- A la cort fui l'autr'ier del rei Navar,
 Qu'est cort corta de tota cortezia,
 Corta de pretz e corta de donar,
 4 E mais corta qu'ieu dir non sabria.

 Et es tant cort c'om ren no'y pot corchar.
 De sa cort corta prec Dieu que m'en par,
 Qu'en sa cort a de totz bes carestia.
 9 Per qu'ieu l'apel cort corta tota via.

- Je fus, il y a quelques jours, à la cour du roi de Navarre,
 Qui est une cour courte de toute courtoisie,
 Courte de mérite et courte de générosité,
 4 Et plus courte que je ne saurais dire
 (Le don du roi de Navarre) . . .
 . . . Est si court qu'on ne saurait rien y raccourcir.
 Je prie Dieu qu'il me préserve de sa cour courte;
 Car en sa cour il y a disette de tous biens.
 9 Aussi je l'appelle de toute manière cour courte.

Si l'on remarque que le poème s'occupe aussi des Anglais et des terres que leur prend la cour de France in 1250-1251, c'est-à-dire de l'Agénois et du Quercy, l'analogie est frappante avec le sirventès que Cardinal avait composé en 1224 contre Savaric de Mauléon et les Anglais. Cardinal est donc bien dans le Midi, le chef de l'école singulière où s'enrégimenta Cathala vers 1230-1236, c'est-à-dire au moment où le genre était en pleine floraison.

C. FABRE

LE PUY-EN-VELAY

REVIEWS

Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore, a cura di E. G. Parodi, con note al testo, glossario, e indici. In appendice a le Opere di Dante edite dalla Società Dantesca Italiana. Firenze, R. Bemporad e Figlio, MCMXXII.

This volume, identical in binding and in size of page with its great predecessor, but of course thinner, and with a different distribution of contents, gives us the text of two poems which have been associated with the name of Dante—the well-known *Fiore*, an adaptation into 232 sonnets of the material of the *Roman de la Rose*, and the less-known *Detto d'Amore*, portions of a longish poem written throughout in couplets with equivocal rimes. The text is accompanied by a short and lucid preface discussing the problem of authorship; by a note on the text discussing manuscript sources, spelling, and readings, whether manifest errors, sure corrections, or suggestions; by a glossary; and by an index of proper and allegorical names. The care spent on establishing the text makes it needless to discuss questions of a textual nature; and I shall therefore confine this note to the point of most general interest—the editor's account of, and attitude towards, the attribution to Dante.

The arguments in favor of this attribution, as Parodi points out, are still pretty much those adduced by Castets, the first editor. They are, in brief, the name Durante; the sonnet alluding to Sigier de Brabant (no. 92); the fact that sonnet 97 is elsewhere connected with the name of Dante; and the authentic sonnet of Dante's (*Opere*, p. 102) which speaks of a poem (allegorically described as a *pulselletta*) addressed to Brunetto or Betto Brunelleschi, and suggests that he give it, for interpretation, to various persons, including "messer Giano," a name which may be taken as an Italian form of the French Jean [de Meun], thus bringing us back to the *Roman de la Rose*. It is to be noted that the link between these several pieces of evidence is the equation of names, Durante-Dante, without which the sonnet of Dante would hardly have been drawn into the discussion.

The arguments of the opposition are more general, but not less weighty. One is the facetious and irreverent spirit of the poet, a mood which we do not readily associate with Dante's character as known to us. Another is the difficulty of equating the *Fiore* with the *pulselletta* of the sonnet. The personification of a single canzone is natural and frequent; but would it have occurred to anyone to extend the figure to a lengthy sonnet sequence? Moreover, the allegory of the *Fiore* seems transparent enough, and in no need of exegesis; while if we think of Giano as the clipped form of Torrigiano, there actually was a Florentine poet of that name, some of whose sonnets are still extant. Finally, what are we to think of the language of the poem—on the one hand full of words taken from the French and often barely Italianized, on the other full of Florentine colloquial contractions? Is it a language which we can easily fancy Dante adopting, even for a literary joke? To the weight of this negative evidence must be added the fact that the *Fiore* and the *Detto* seem pretty surely the work

of a single author; and it is equally hard to think of Dante as the author of a poem in equivocal rimes which still comprises 480 lines, and was originally longer.

Parodi's exposition of these conflicting arguments is scrupulously fair; but he allows it to be seen that his own opinion inclines to the negative side. Very plausible is his suggestion (p. xii) that the real author was "one of those Florentines for whom France and Flanders, the field of their activity, had become almost a second country, and French, accordingly, a second language, which in their recollections could somewhat disturb the native purity of the mother tongue." Equally suggestive is the remark (p. xiii) that the style of the poem, as compared with anything of Dante's, seems "more easy, often too easy and flowing, less well-knit, less energetic, and in its happiest moments less in the vein of Dante than in that of Ariosto." There is, at all events, no difficulty in imagining as the author a Florentine with the traits thus sketched, writing the two poems for his own amusement, and perhaps never giving them publicity (the two manuscripts in which they are preserved were originally one, and no other has come to light). The language of the poems—as Parodi, again, points out—is more akin to that of the older poetical manuscripts than to that of the *stil nuovo* circle; and when we consider the large body of anonymous verse by different hands which those manuscripts contain, it seems easier to assume the existence of one more unidentified poet than to ascribe to Dante two poems which we can hardly think of as connected with any known phase of his personality.

Such are Parodi's summary and conclusion; and from them each reader can decide for himself as he likes. In any case, in Parodi's closing words,

"A tradition has been formed, legitimate doubts and convictions remain; and this fact sufficiently justifies our little volume, so far as it aims to form an appendix to the memorable volume in which the Dante scholars of Italy have enduringly celebrated the sixth centenary of the Poet. As there is an *Appendix Virgiliana*, it is right and natural that there should be an *Appendix Dantiana*."

The contention is sound; and the task of supplying that appendix could not have been performed with more scrupulous accuracy and fairness.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Doucet, R. *Étude sur le Gouvernement de François I^{er} dans ses rapports avec le Parlement de Paris. I^{re} Partie 1515-1525*. Paris, Champion, 1921.

This volume is of prime importance for students of the literature of the early part of the reign of François Premier. That literature is full of historical allusions, whether it be prose or verse. Many of the writers of that period were intimately connected with the King, with Parliament and with the administration in general.

M. Doucet in his introduction, entitled *Note bibliographique*, reviews all works heretofore published concerning the reign of François I^{er}. He shows to what extent those works are trustworthy, wherein lie their merits and their faults. He also points out what gaps still remain to be filled. On the whole, the author remarks, the period under consideration and in a general way the entire reign of that King have been neglected up to the present time, at least in what concerns internal history, which has been less favored than the wars and diplomacy. This

neglect is doubtless due to the technical difficulties presented by research relating to the sixteenth century.

M. Doucet has added a most valuable contribution to the understanding of the period. He has assembled the results of his own investigations in the archives and other unpublished documents and has presented them to the student in a scholarly and attractive way.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT

Lachèvre, Frédéric. *Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs de Poésies du XVI^e siècle (du Jardin de plaisance, 1502, aux Recueils de Toussaint du Bray, 1609) donnant: 1°. La description et le contenu des recueils. 2°. Une table générale des pièces anonymes ou signées d'initiales de ces recueils (titre et premier vers), avec l'indication du nom des auteurs pour celles qui ont pu être attribuées.* Paris, Champion, 1922, 613 pp.

Dedicated to the memory of the late Emile Picot this bibliography is a companion volume to other bibliographies already published by the author. It is planned on the same model as his *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs publiés de 1597 à 1700*. The volume was to be followed by a second part—*Pièces classées par auteurs avec notices bio-bibliographiques*, but the cost of printing and of paper being prohibitive, the author was compelled to renounce publishing that second part, which would have formed two or three large volumes. It is greatly to be regretted that M. Lachèvre has had to abandon his plan, for the second part would have been extremely useful to all students of sixteenth century poetry.

Those who often have to work at a great distance from European libraries as well as European students themselves will find the book under consideration of invaluable assistance. It will save endless hours spent in libraries and will facilitate in every way the research of the one interested in sixteenth century poetry.

M. Lachèvre gives a detailed account of the contents of each collection, a bibliography of that collection, the catalogue number of the Bibliothèque Nationale and every piece of information of a bibliographical and often of a literary nature connected with the subject. The mechanical labor alone involved in the preparation of the book is stupendous. The alphabetic tables both of the collections and of names of authors are most useful, as well as those of surnames, pseudonyms, anagrams, devices, etc. Lack of space prevents us from giving an analysis of the contents of this monumental piece of work for which all interested in sixteenth century poetry should be grateful.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT

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